

\$2 A YEAR

50 CENTS A COPY

Volume XIII

Number 3

The

South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

JULY, 1914

CONTENTS

RURAL LAND SEGREGATION BETWEEN THE WHITES AND NEGROES: A REPLY TO MR. STEPHENSON	207
CLARENCE POE	
THE AMERICAN PEGASUS	213
JOHN LAURENCE McMASTER	
INCOME TAX DISCRIMINATION AND DIFFERENTIATION	220
ROY G. BLAKELY	
DANTE AND HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE ENGLISH POETS.	233
WILLIAM A. WEBB	
SOME IRISH PLAYS AND SOCIAL SKETCHES	248
ELBRIDGE COLBY	
LINCOLN'S INTERVIEW WITH JOHN B. BALDWIN	260
WILMER L. HALL	
THE FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY FUND	270
WILLIAM K. BOYD	
THE SHAPE OF THE FIRST LONDON THEATRE	280
T. S. GRAVES	
BOOK REVIEWS	283
NOTES AND NEWS	297

DURHAM, N. C.

Founded by the "9019" of Trinity College

Entered May 3, 1902, as second-class matter, Postoffice at Durham, N. C.
Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Published at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., by the
South Atlantic Publishing Company

OFFICERS:

ROBERT L. FLOWERS, President
WILLIAM K. BOYD, Vice President

WILLIAM H. GLASSON, Secretary
FRANK C. BROWN, Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

WILLIAM K. BOYD WILLIAM H. GLASSON ROBERT L. FLOWERS
WILLIAM H. WANNAMAKER ALBERT M. WEBB

This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

Contents of the Last Two Numbers:

JANUARY, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Cities.....	Gilbert T. Stephenson
Popular Etymology.....	Reed Smith
August Strindberg: Universalist.....	Archibald Henderson
The Return to Objectivism in Poetry.....	H. Houston Peckham
The Effect of Scientific Management on Wages.....	Roland Hugins
William Garrott Brown.....	William P. Few
The Masters of Modern French Criticism.....	Edwin Mims
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	

APRIL, 1914

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races in Rural Communities in North Carolina.....	Gilbert T. Stephenson
The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers.....	Charles Lee Raper
Vital Statistics in North Carolina.....	Mabel Parker Massey
New Greek Literature.....	Charles W. Peppler
The Federal Reserve Act of 1913.....	D. D. Wallace
Sidney Lanier	Frank W. Cady
Some Aspects of American Place Names.....	Earl L. Bradsher
The Poetical Technique of Coleridge.....	Gilbert Cosulich
Book Reviews	
Notes and News	

TRINITY COLLEGE

Offers graduate and undergraduate courses in all departments of Literature, History, Science and Philosophy. Every advantage is offered and the best Christian influences are brought to bear in shaping character and preparing young men to meet the duties and responsibilities of life. The equipments are complete and the advantages are superior.

TRINITY COLLEGE HAS THE LARGEST
ENDOWMENT OF ANY COLLEGE IN
THE SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES. *

Lectures are from time to time delivered before the student body by men well equipped in their line of work. The students are kept in touch with the world's work, and those things are encouraged which develop men morally, mentally, and physically.

For catalogue and further information, address,

W. P. FEW, President, Durham, N. C.

WHERE WILL YOU SEND YOUR BOY TO SCHOOL?

No parent will consider this question carelessly. A school should combine three qualities: 1. It should be a place where character is nurtured. 2. Where intellect is stimulated and properly trained. 3. Where health and good manners are promoted. : : : : : : : : : : :

THE TRINITY PARK SCHOOL

seeks to meet these requirements. It is a college preparatory school, thoroughly equipped for the best work in that line. It has six college trained teachers, seven buildings, modern in equipment, an excellent gymnasium, and unsurpassed library advantages. Students get all the benefits of college associations. For illustrated catalogue, address,

W. W. PEELE, Headmaster, - - - Durham, North Carolina.

J. SOUTHGATE & SON

INSURANCE

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

B. N. DUKE, President.

F. L. FULLER, Vice-President.

J. F. WILY, Cashier.

S. W. MINOR, Assistant Cashier.

The Fidelity Bank

Durham, North Carolina

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS, \$300,000.00

—FOUR PER CENT. PAID ON SAVINGS DEPOSITS—

THE DURHAM & SOUTHERN RAILWAY

Offers the very best service to shippers and receivers of freight to and from Eastern, Western and Southern Points, and Durham, N. C., Apex, N. C., Dunn, N. C., and intermediate stations.

This Company also offers **Very Attractive Passenger Facilities and Schedules** to all points in the Southern States and Eastern points in North and South Carolina

For further information apply to

BURKE HOBGOOD,

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Soliciting Freight and Passenger
Agent

The Sewanee Review

QUARTERLY

*Issued in January, April, July, and October
Each number consists of 128 large octavo pages, hand-
somely printed on heavy paper*

SUBSCRIPTION, \$2.00 A YEAR

Single numbers, 50c.

THIS REVIEW, established November 1892, under the auspices of the Faculty of the University of the South, is devoted to reviews of new and important books; to literary criticism; to papers on such topics of general literature as require fuller treatment than they receive in popular magazines and less technical treatment than they receive in specialist publications; and to discussions of vital questions in education, politics, economics, history, philosophy, art, science, and religion. In other words, THE REVIEW conforms more nearly to the type of the English Reviews than is usual with American periodicals. In policy it is not the organ either of an institution or of a church. Without being sectional, it seeks to represent fairly the best spirit of the South in its views on national problems and in its aspirations towards higher ideals.

Intending contributors and publishers desiring to have their important books reviewed will address as indicated below. Where the return of an article is desired, stamps should be enclosed. In all cases the full name of the contributor must be given, though it need not be published.

The Sewanee Review

Sewanee, Tennessee

As Others See Us

"With the January number, just issued, the SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY celebrates its tenth anniversary. The journal was founded 'to furnish the young writers of the South a medium for the publication of their work,' and thus to forward 'the interests of Southern literature and scholarship.' But it has kept free from the narrower sectionalism, its columns being open to writers from all parts of the country, and it is to-day one of the few journals in which vital subjects can be treated seriously and without some yielding to the popular clamor and superficial interest."—*Nation* (New York), February 1, 1912.

"The QUARTERLY has been liberal and liberalizing. Though distinctively a Southern publication, the SOUTH ATLANTIC has invited and obtained the co-operation of distinguished Northern writers in addition to its able Southern contributors. . . . The subjects treated in the SOUTH ATLANTIC have by the same token been not exclusively Southern but often national or cosmopolitan. The QUARTERLY is a representative Southern journal of opinion—not merely average, but representative of the best thought of educated Southern men. May the SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY have a long and increasingly useful career."—*North Carolina Review* (of the *Releigh News and Observer*).

"There is a magazine published in Durham, N. C., through the initiation of an organization of young men of Trinity College of that place which should be in the hands of every Northern man who wishes anything like a clear and trustworthy impression of the movement of opinion among the educated class in the South. It is called THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY. . . . Its avowed object is 'to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions.' The discussion to which so far it has invited its readers is of a very high order in point of candor, dignity, care as to facts, and intellectual independence. It is also, it may be remarked—though this was to be expected—of a literary excellence quite up to the level of like discussion either here or in England."—Editorial in *New York Times*.

COLLEGE AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES SHOULD SUBSCRIBE

Two Dollars a Year

Durham, North Carolina

Volume XIII

JULY, 1914

Number 3

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Rural Land Segregation Between Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson

CLARENCE POE

Editor of THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER

In the April issue of the SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, my friend, Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, presents some objections to the plan for land segregation between the races that I have been advocating and which was unanimously endorsed by the last meeting of the North Carolina State Farmers' Union.

Let me say in the outset that I am glad to read the discussion by Mr. Stephenson, and I am glad to consider the criticisms others have made, taking all in a spirit of open-minded searching after truth, for in the language of old Marcus Aurelius, "If any man can show me that I do not think or act aright, I will gladly change, for I seek only the truth by which no man was ever injured."

And yet I must say that nearly a year of discussion and criticism have only convinced me of the essential soundness of the plan I first formally outlined last August, namely:

"That wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race a majority of the voters in such a district should have the right to say, if they wish, that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race—provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners."

The proposition, in fact, looks rather to white segregation than negro segregation, providing only that where negroes cease to become laborers or renters and become independent land-owners working for themselves, they should buy land in

communities to themselves—or at least apart from those communities which are, and wish to remain, predominantly white.

Seven reasons I have given for favoring the plan may also be briefly repeated:

1. Because it is necessary to give our white farmers and their families a satisfying social life.
2. Because it will insure them greater safety and protection.
3. Because it will give both races better schools, churches, and all the agencies of a richer community life.
4. Because it will open the way to both races for rural co-operation and co-operative enterprises—work in which it is almost impossible for whites and blacks to work together successfully.
5. Because it will improve moral conditions in the relations of the races.
6. Because it will give the rural South what it most sorely needs—a greater proportion of white people, (1) by stopping the crowding out of the white farmers by negroes, and (2) by providing all-white communities such as white people from other sections will be willing to move into.
7. Because ambitious young white men will then be willing to go into these all-white communities as tenants, work and save, and become good farmers and good citizens, whereas they are unwilling to go into mixed communities and compete with negro tenants.

As to the question why a law is needed, instead of leaving the whole matter to be settled by public opinion, that is also quickly answered. We need a law (1) so as to let each race know definitely its own bounds and therefore better respect the rights of the other race; and (2) to protect white communities from the white landlord who lives away from the community and doesn't care how many negroes he sells land to—simply because he doesn't have to live among them himself and doesn't care about anybody else's condition.

Now let us consider briefly the objections that have occurred to Mr. Stephenson. I appreciate his frankness in saying—perhaps the country's foremost student of race distinctions in law as he is—that the question of constitutionality need not now be discussed. For he says "if rural segregation after the

plan suggested is right in principle, then it will be possible to frame a statute that will conform to constitutional limitations."

The chief point at which I have been misunderstood and the chief point at which Mr. Stephenson misunderstands me is in my attitude toward the negro—the motive of this land segregation movement. I hope I shall never be classed with the bitter or destructive type of "negro agitators". My whole aim in this matter has been to develop a constructive policy for the help of the white man and not a destructive policy to the hurt of the negro. If I know my own heart I would not be unjust to the negro. For the Shylocks and vultures of our own race who fatten financially upon his ignorance and weakness I have nothing but the utmost contempt and loathing. For all who would oppress him and keep him in peonage I have no shadow of sympathy. I believe in helping the negro and in being just to him.

But—and here comes the rub—I also believe in helping and being just to the working white man of the South whose ancestors through centuries of toil wrought out the civilization which we enjoy—the civilization, moreover, to which the negro himself owes the very peace, safety and prosperity he enjoys. And years of earnest study have convinced me that all in all the handicapped man, the disadvantaged man, in the rural South today is not the negro, but the laboring white man who must compete industrially with a race with lower living standards and whose white social life is impoverished if not imperilled by the universal sandwiching of white and negro homes. This is the situation that confronts us. The negroes not only have an advantage over the white farmer in that they are able to buy land and make crops on a scale of living, clothing, and housing that the respectable white farmer and his family cannot meet, but the negroes have the additional advantage that where negroes begin to outnumber the whites, or are of bad character, the whites may be forced to surrender the whole community to the negroes because there is no longer an adequate white social life or else for reasons of safety. This has happened in thousands of cases.

Let us consider conditions briefly. Booker Washington himself boasts that in every southern state east of the Mis-

sissippi, except Florida, the percentage of negroes on the farms is increasing: the negroes are gaining on the whites proportionately and rural districts are becoming blacker instead of whiter. Moreover, not only are the rural sections of the South getting blacker instead of whiter but the negroes are gaining most rapidly in farm ownership, 17 per cent. gain in negro ownership to 12 per cent. in white, while—most sinister fact of all—it is the white farmers who are fastest becoming a tenant class (188,000 gain in white tenants or 27 per cent. and only 118,000 gain in negro tenants or 21 per cent.)

Now, if the negroes were gaining this advantage by virtue of a superior character and civilization, we should have no word of protest. But they are not. They are gaining chiefly because they are nearer the savage stage of man's development—because they will live in shabbier houses, eat meaner food, wear dirtier clothes, than men will do among whom the living standards of a white civilization are maintained—and because new negro landowners crowd in among white farm families in districts without police protection, and thus frequently force these white farmers to move away. It's an unfair advantage—that is, if we assume that the white man has a right to protect his civilization—and I say that simply as a matter of fairness to the white man and not of unfairness to the negro, the best thought of the South should be given to working out a remedy. We should give a reasonable proportion of rural white communities, communities owned by our white farmers and their families, the right to segregate themselves, the right to say (under reasonable restrictions) that no more land in such communities should be sold to negroes—or else some other solution must be found.

When our recent Southern Sociological Congress in Nashville had speaker after speaker benevolently discussing "Hindrances to Negro Progress" while no man said a word about "Hindrances to White Progress", I could not help but think this: Suppose a million Chinese or Japanese had come into California, and they were gaining on the whites in every farming county, running the white farmers out by their lower living standards and their undesirability as neighbors: would you have a white Californians' conference discussing "Hind-

rances to the Yellow Man's Progress?" Or would they be looking after the preservation of their own white civilization, as they have shown themselves so abundantly able to do?

Here in the South today we actually face just such conditions as I have imagined for California. Despite individual cases of injustice and unfair dealing, therefore, I repeat that our really handicapped man is not the negro, who, suddenly emerging from African barbarism has become heir to the most advanced civilization in the most favored portion of the whole earth, and by his lower living standards is able to outdo the white man in getting possession of the land. No, indeed; the negro is no more the handicapped man here than the Chinese or Japanese would be in California if they had come over by the millions and were free to live and work and buy land without let or hindrance.

The only man in the South today whose civilization and whose future are really imperilled—mark my words—is the small white farmer and white workingman.

And yet when I try to make this plain and call for some remedy, I am denounced as an "agitator". The great trouble is that our leaders of thought, our intellectually and politically dominant white classes, themselves sit at perfect ease in segregated portions of our towns and cities, and never have occasion to think of the negro other than as a servant—never as a competitor. And their humbler white brethren out on the farms and in the shops and factories who are fighting the hard battles of the race and of a sorely pressed civilization are too often dismissed as being only "poor white trash", while benevolent people overflow with sympathy for the supposedly downtrodden negro.

So much for Mr. Stephenson's criticism of my general proposition. The burden of his argument is that it would be unjust to the negro. My purpose has been to show that it is not proposed in any way as a matter of taking advantage of the negro, but only as a plan for equalizing advantages for the white man.

I am aware that Mr. Stephenson also urges a number of minor objections to my plan, and I wish I had space now to discuss these objections; but a misunderstanding as to the time this issue of THE QUARTERLY would go to press has left me

only with opportunity for the general presentation of my subject. I do not believe, however, that the objections urged by Mr. Stephenson are serious, and in the October QUARTERLY I may discuss them in detail.

The American Pegasus

JOHN LAURENCE McMASTER

We are all familiar, even those of us who have not followed Saunders through the delightful mazes of early English pleading, with the ingenious defense of the worthy dame as recorded in the celebrated case of the borrowed bowl. Her triumph of mind over matter as stated in the pleadings was, first, that she had never borrowed the bowl; second, that it was cracked when she borrowed it; and third, that she returned it whole. We have too much respect for the proprieties of Mt. Olympus to attempt to confound poetry with the law, yet we cannot but fear that something like the same inconsistent but surprisingly convincing logic will be hurled by some future literary iconoclast at what we are pleased to term American poetry. We can even see the props fall from under our localized Parnassus as it is stated that, first, we never had an American Pegasus; that, second, such as it was it was English when we got it; and that, third, it was never a winged horse anyhow but only a plain, uncultured *jackass*. And the sad fact about such irreverent logic will be the melancholy conclusion that the premises are more or less true.

From this, however, it must not be understood that the American Pegasus is in any sense a pack-horse. Far from it, for America is nowhere more sincere than in her artistic consciousness and nowhere more removed from blatant commercialism. Whatever else their limitations, our Homers can never be accused of being bread-and-butter poets. We have outgrown the traditional idea of the long-haired poet, yet we still mentally place him in the attic of affluence. As a result, few American singers depend for bread on song alone, and to their credit, few have traded their lyres for a pot of porridge. No, our Pegasus has never been made to serve as a pack-horse—he may have been starved, but he has never been overworked.

The fact must be admitted, however, that in spite of some excellent traditions and some splendid attempts, there remains in the last analysis but little real American poetry, except of the school-boy type, and that little, unlike the widow's cruse of

oil, is not conserved from day to day but ever is diminished. The present generation has witnessed the New England School tumbled from the ranks of artistic greatness into the depths of poetic mediocrity, and with their passing has gone the larger portion of what we had hitherto considered our poetic accomplishments. The hectic Poe and the disputed Whitman are still left to bear the burden of our song; but the motif and the work of the former are too morbid in tone to cast much of brightness on the open record, and the latter remains in the face of keener criticism the unknown quantity of our poetic problem. There is hope, of course, for a poet who is enthused over in France, discussed at length in England, and neglected like the prophets in his own country; but until the present Muse determines whether she wishes her poetry served with or without the conventional limitations it will be impossible to assign Whitman his permanent niche in the temple of the gods.

Turning to the present, one is tempted to conclude that if the blow from the hoof of Pegasus failed to produce much of a Hippocrenean spring in the past, it will take a veritable hydraulic pump to produce much of a flow in the future. While it is recognized that much of the poetry of the day does not find expression in magazine form, it must be admitted that the magazines serve as the official mouth-piece of poetry at large. Accordingly, the present situation is well summed up, if ironically, in the favorite words of the average rejection slip—"we print very little poetry." Examination of the average magazine makes the casual reader wonder why this limitation. If they candidly admitted that they printed no poetry, few would be fain to deny it, and fewer still would rise up in defence of the matter that is masqueraded under that alluring guise. Coleridge in his day lamented that "the intelligible forms of ancient poets * * * have vanished; they live no longer in the faith of reason." Were he alive today, he would dispute honors with Jeremiah. The conception of present-day art seems to be entirely misconception and mysticism. Homer never sang an unintelligible language nor did his hearers ever need a course in poetic interpretation to enable them to unravel his meaning from the measure of his melody; but even Homer, the father of song, would be nonplussed by our vague singing.

Heaven only grant that no Baconian-Shakespearean controversy arise over the poetry of the present, for in that dire event disputants will be able to find or not to find all the knowledge of the past, present, and future hid in the measures of our verse. Historians will gravely point to the American *vers libre* as another example of the dangers of an unrestrained democracy exemplified in the imagination.

But defenders of the faith assert that we are yet in the infancy of our literary career. It must be so. For if this be not the milk-and-water stage of its existence, then American poetry must have developed an early case of utter senility. True, it has none of the naturalness that characterizes the infant: it has none of the sturdiness which abounded in its English cousin who sang lustily even though crudely while he was yet in the swaddling clothes of an undeveloped language. But the explanation sounds reasonable and serves to explain why there are so few male singers in the choir innumerable. Stedman, it will be remembered, referred to the Scotch critic who spoke of "the plague of American poetesses," and while Stedman evidently feared the plague too much to attempt to justify the criticism, he did admit that "our daughters of song are more numerous than those of England and some of them * * * have very thin voices." However, in view of the circumstances, it is a happy situation and our magazines have acted wisely, thoughtfully, and maternally in tying our infant poetry to the apron-strings of the weaker-voiced sex. None but the gentle feminine mind *sans* suffragism *sans* eugenics could rightly care for it. For with reference to them, Stedman goes on to state that "the morale of their verse is elevating; it fluently adapts itself to the conventions of the day." It is comforting to note that this still holds true. It is consoling to know that the child is in such careful hands. In this degenerate age, we do not always subscribe to the "conventions," but like the average man Heaven knows we want our literary children to be better than their father.

However, this domestic arrangement of the American Homer has tended to such a condition of feminism that we have few male singers left and the rich soprano of American lyricism is sadly in want of the sturdy *de basso profundo* to

give background to its tonal sweetness. It is true we have any number of "rising young poets." Reviewers have a happy faculty of discovering them weekly and monthly, but somehow or other they never stay discovered. Perhaps it is because they have continued to rise to higher things than writing verse in competition with their sisters of the sonnet, or perhaps it is because alarmed at their own male conspicuousness they drop to the seclusion of some less artistic pursuit, such as making money for instance. Masculine poetry still survives in England and editors are still thoughtful enough to import it at times in the shape of a Noyes ballade or a Masefield realism, but even then our joy has its proverbial thorn. We welcome the male voice with all the enthusiasm we would bestow on a longlost brother, and in consequence we are called literary snobs.

But then we have passed the day when we can be Parnassians and patriots at the same time. It is very illbred. Almost as bad form as conversing with your own family at a reception. And here lies the root of the trouble with American poetry. The songs of the people must appeal to the people, but our songs appeal to none except the neurotic—they are neither fish, flesh, nor fowl—neither local, state, or national. In England Noyes sings the glory of the Elizabethan period, Masefield pictures the realities of English life on land and sea, and even Bridges in the first-fruits of his laureateship glorifies the English Christmas, and as a result their songs reach the multitudes. In America we have none of the appeal of this localized song—our poets cannot see Parnassus but on a foreign shore. And the world of American poetry is blind to the fact. It rushes off in droves, and in sonnets, ballads, and lyrics to anywhere and everywhere so it be out of America. Baedeker is the inspiration of half our poems, and give the average poet an "eaux" and the average editor a Gallic cognomen and either will rave over it and count it better than the ninety and nine sturdy American phrasings that lie untouched in the fold. To paraphrase a nobler line, hardly a poet of the day but who carries as his slogan: Better fifty words on Europe than a sonnet on Broadway.

The pity of it. The shame of it. Here lies America bound-

less in beauty and wonderful in scope, shaping the destiny of millions and creating a new concept of freedom and human rights, and our poets are blind to the material beauty of the one and the epic grandeur of the other. The Mississippi flows to the hollowed Gulf bearing in her train the riches of a continent; to the west the great plains lie open to God and man and the mountains bear their forests and hide their buried gold; to the north we catch the thunder of the majestic Falls growling in impressive wrath and the scent of the pine is mingled with the wash of the Lakes; the Southland yields up her fertile treasures and joins with the East in an outpouring of tradition and greatness that makes for the prouder record of united America—and our song will have none of this burden. “See America first” must needs be planted in burning letters at the shrine of American poetry, or from having little poetry we shall in time have none. Exotics please—they rarely live.

But not only does the poetry of America need *localizing*; it needs *humanizing* as well. It needs to be stripped of the verbiage of outworn encyclopedia and forgotten allusions and clothed with the language of the time. It needs to be reminded that there is as much mental snobbery in founding all poetic conception on the fading mythology of the past as there is social snobbery in looking for true nobility only in the ranks of the peerage. Beauty exists at the close of the day as well as at the dawn and it is no lack of appreciation to neglect Grecian art to buildup an art of our own. Dismantle the outworn Parnassus, if you will, and substitute the Harlem flat. Let “God, the true Iacchus,” to quote from a recent poem, together with all the other gods and goddesses and Iacchi, take to himself a long and much needed vacation and in his stead give us the practical American engineer digging a Culebra Cut or building a Gatun Dam. Banish the thousand and one poetic fixtures of the past and in their place give us the thumping trolley, the whirring automobile, the soaring aeroplane, and the other evidences of civilization that make the content of the present. Still sing of Nature, but sing her in the garb of the present. The trees we have with us always—and love, but give us the oak in lieu of the olive and the maple instead of the

cypress. The sunlight still falls—on brick walls, touching the city with a new life; and the rattle of the milkcart making its rounds is as cheerful a sound as was ever made by the clink of the chariot wheels on the grooved streets of Herculaneum. Sing all the changing commonplaces that go to make up the beauty of the present, oh poet, and in doing so you will breathe into the dry bones of American poesy the living breath of life and it will have a place—other than as mere filler-in—not only in the magazines of the day but in the literature of the world.

Meanwhile in advocating this “back to the soil” movement, we are not advocating that American poetry adopt a levelling anarchy nor be placed on a ranting rationalistic plane. We are still sticklers for the proprieties of the art—we are for a standard menu but we wish its terms American. Nor when the time comes that American poetry shall drop the garb of mysticism for the garb of living life is it hoped that in the joy of its new found freedom it will plunge into the extreme of materialism. We do not desire our poets, granting we shall produce them, to equal the incomparable strains of the Poet of the Alamo as he caroled blithely:

“Sassafras, oh sassafras,
Thou art the stuff for me
And in the spring I love to sing
Sweet sassafras of thee.”

We set no such matchless blend of theme and melody as the standard consummate. It may reach the root of the matter, but in these days of urban existence, it is entirely too far beyond the minds of the multitude. Nor in banishing the classics do we necessarily insist on the measure of realism that this same master of verse displays in his epic immortalizing a certain railroad wreck, as expressed in these moving lines:

“And in among the wreck I see
A man that's pinned down by the knee
And hear him calmly for to say,
Cut, oh cut, my leg away.”

This indeed has the touch of nature that makes the whole world sin. As the reviewers would say, the plaintive and repeated pathos of the closing line, not to mention the “for” in the third line, is sufficient to make mere man curse the gods of

poetry and die. From the murderous O'Alamos, Good Lord deliver us.

No, it is not desired that our dejected Pegasus degenerate into a goat even though he has thoughtlessly been termed a mere jackass. From the extreme of neglect we do not wish to see him developed into the extreme of eccentricity, and if he cannot be a winged creature we are determined he shall not be a show-horse. But from such melancholy forebodings, we turn to trust that rather will the nipping air of American life and the surging aspiration of American endeavor so fill him with replenished strength that once more a blow from his mighty hoof will renew the fountain of our song, and in such a happy event, we trust that there will gush forth from our Hippocrenean spring neither a milk-and-water nor yet a grape juice variety of verse, but the very wine of poetry itself—a libation fit to be spilled in honor of America and our own United States.

Income Tax Discrimination and Differentiation

Roy G. BLAKEY

Assistant Professor of Economics in Cornell University.

In this discussion of certain features of the new American income tax, it is not the intention to confine the consideration entirely to those discriminations which are unjust nor to those differentiations which come within the strictly technical meaning of the latter term. In most cases, perhaps, the unfavorable connotation now commonly attaching to "discrimination" and the technical significance of "differentiation" will not be wholly disregarded, but a wider application of the terms will be made than narrowly drawn limitations would permit.

It was not the purpose of the framers of the income tax that it should fall with equal weight upon all classes of income or even upon all classes of people. Nor was this the intention of the administration which passed the law or of the masses who have favored and advocated it for more than a quarter of a century. The tax was admittedly intended to fall upon privileged incomes and well-to-do classes and to allow those of small means to escape. As with many other taxes, it is an attempt of one class to roll part of the burdens of government from its own shoulders to those of another class. In this respect, the tax is notably similar to inheritance, unearned-increment and many corporation taxes. Customs duties, excises, and other consumption taxes show a similar shifting of burdens though with classes in reverse positions.

As a matter of fact, a large part of all legislation is a contest between the representatives of different classes in the making of the "rules of the game." The new income tax law is an important part, but only one of many parts of a long and comprehensive campaign of the masses against the privileged classes. This democratic or equalitarian movement has not been confined to any one country and at the present moment it is at the highest point yet reached both here and abroad. In this country the significant features of the campaign during the last third of a century have been manifested in the granger movement and the great mass of legislation relating to rail-

roads, trusts, monopolies, currency, taxation, and tariffs. Very significant parts of the same broad general movement are the recent labor laws and other humanitarian developments, and the legislation and proposed legislation in connection with the initiative, referendum, recall, popular election of senators and presidential primaries. On the whole, this great movement has been a campaign against discrimination or "privilege," as the term "democratic" or "equalitarian" implies, but this does not mean that many attempts have not been made to offset some discriminations with counter discriminations.

The most obvious and important and consequently the most severely criticised discriminations of the new tax are those resulting from the high exemption and the progressive rates. It may be well to state at the outset that the correct interpretation of the law relative to deductions and exemptions is in some doubt. The main question in this connection is, shall individual income or family income be the basis for exemptions and taxes? The law itself is undoubtedly ambiguous as to several points relative to this matter. Paragraph C of the income tax section is as follows:

"C. That there shall be deducted from the amount of the net income of each of said persons, ascertained as provided herein, the sum of \$3,000, plus \$1,000 additional if the person making the return be a married man with a wife living with him, or plus the sum of \$1,000 additional if the person making the return be a married woman with a husband living with her; but in no event shall this additional exemption of \$1,000 be deducted by both a husband and a wife: *Provided*, That only one deduction of \$4,000 shall be made from the aggregate income of both husband and wife when living together."

Some lawyers have advised their clients that, where husband and wife each have independent incomes each may claim an exemption of \$3,000 and either (not both) an additional \$1,000, thus making possible an aggregate exemption of \$7,000 for both. The author of the law says that, with a nominal rate and a high exemption, it was thought wisest to make family income the basis of the tax in order to avoid evasion, though with low exemptions and high rates, the matter would have been different. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, upon whom de-

volves the interpretation and administration of the law (subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury), has issued two rulings upon this point, the latter being very full and specific.¹ He holds, in harmony with the intent of the author, that the aggregate deduction of both husband and wife from their combined incomes shall not exceed \$4,000. We will assume for the time being that the commissioner's rulings are correct and will be upheld by the courts.

The most vigorous and widespread charge of discrimination against this exemption is that it makes the income tax a class tax upon the rich, levied by the poorer classes who pay little or none of it. It is claimed that all should contribute to the support of the government as they are able, however little that may be, partly because each is benefitted by the government, partly as an inducement to take an interest in public expenditure and thus avoid extravagance, and partly as an automatic check upon oppression of the rich by the masses.

A similar charge is that the exemption makes the tax sectional, one laid by the West and South upon the East and especially upon the large cities of the East. Another criticism is that it discriminates against incomes from commerce and industry and favors those from agriculture. The exemption, together with the progressive rates, is criticised as being socialistic, that is, aiming at the leveling of property and income, and thus being a check upon industry and thrift and the entering wedge of socialism with its consequent confiscation, industrial demoralization and national, if not world-wide, decay.

It must be admitted that all or most of these claims are true, either wholly or in part, and in so far as the tax works unnecessary injustice, no excuse is to be made for it. But some partial justifications may be adduced, the chief of which may be summarized briefly. In the first place, the standard of living is higher in the United States than in most countries, the purchasing power of money is both less than elsewhere and less here than in former years; it is not necessary for the United States to burden itself so heavily to raise its revenues as is the case with less resourceful and over-populated countries with

¹ The ruling of Dec. 27, 1913 (T. D. 1923) superseded that of Oct. 31, 1913 (T. D. 1887, Part 2, p. 4).

large standing armies, and further, this high exemption leaves a large margin to draw upon in cases of emergency.

In the second place, only a lesser part of the national revenue is to be raised from the present income tax; most federal receipts will still come from customs and excises which fall with greatest burden upon the poor and middle classes. Hence an offsetting income tax upon the rich is in the direction of equity. This justification is further strengthened by the fact that most state and local taxes are borne by the middle classes. Though the greater part of the tax will be paid by Easterners, it is not because they are eastern but because they have large incomes and these will make them amply able to pay. As a matter of fact, these incomes are not really local but national, for under modern industrial and commercial organization, such incomes are derived directly or indirectly from national and even international sources. To the charge of "leveling" property and discouraging thrift, it may be answered that the present income tax is entirely too small to produce any such effects, in fact, an income tax is only one-twentieth part of a property tax expressed in the same percentages, assuming property to yield a net income of five per cent.

Among the strongest of justifications of the high exemption are considerations of administration. The new tax has to be put in operation over an extensive territory containing a large population. In the first steps of its establishment, officials are handicapped by lack of recent adequate income tax records to guide them and, in addition, there is not available a sufficiently large corps of trained and efficient officials to administer the law properly and smoothly. A high exemption with a single variation makes the tax much simpler to administer than would many verifications for different kinds and amounts of income, number of children, insurance premiums, etc. Furthermore, a high exemption automatically selects those incomes which are easiest to assess at the source, hence more accurately and surely assessed, and consequently most fruitful in yield in comparison with expense of administration. Small incomes are reached more easily, effectively and with far less obectionable "inquisitorialness" by means of indirect taxes. With the perfection of administration, however, both justice and expediency

will demand the lowering of exemptions and the development of differentiations which would clog and break down the machinery if introduced in the beginning.

Most of what has been said in reference to the charge of discrimination against the high exemption is applicable to the charge against the progressive rates in so far as class and sectional distinctions are concerned. When it comes to the matter of administration, however, the reverse is true. The difficulties of administration are strongly against progression, and especially strong in the beginning. The additional rates must necessarily be based upon the personal returns of individual incomes, for collection-at-the-source is not in harmony with progression. Hence, this feature of the law means the "inquisitorialness" and evasion which go with self-assessment. It is true that only incomes in excess of \$20,000 are to pay the "additional" tax and most of such incomes will come largely or in part from sources which can be inspected so that there will be a possible check upon evasion. But if public opinion would have permitted, it seems probable that it would have been better to have omitted progression in the beginning. With a nominal flat tax there would have been little evasion, hence, full and accurate records could have been compiled. These would have been an excellent guide for the future and, have made evasion less probable when it was deemed time to adopt progression, especially, inasmuch as administrators would be gaining experience in the meantime.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not all progressive rates are discriminatory. A few hold that they are but modern opinion has been inclining more and more to the idea that tax-paying faculty increases more rapidly than property or income. But as to just what rates of progression are fair and wise no one has been able to say, nor has any one suggested any very practical test. Long ago the benefit theory of taxation was found to be inadequate, partly because it did not meet the demands of justice but largely because of the inability to measure specific benefit. Most modern writers accept or incline towards the faculty or ability-to-pay theory, but this certainly offers no convenient and definite measure of taxation. It too has inherent weaknesses, some of which we often fail to see or

are prone to gloss over. It certainly does not afford an entirely adequate explanation or justification of some of our more modern tendencies in taxation, including that of progression, and it seems probable that these tendencies are on the increase rather than on the wane.

But in addition to the various justifications already mentioned, there is at least one other controlling reason why the exemption was not lowered substantially, namely, political expediency. There was universal complaint of the high cost of living, a general demand for tariff reduction, and a consequent need of other sources of revenue. There were party pledges and platforms to redeem, old scores to settle, and new records to make. Behind all of these was a large constituency that wanted an income tax but preferred that the exemption should not be too low. The party in power was aware of this preference and perhaps realized even more fully than its constituency the probable evil consequences of a very low limit. However much such political expediency may be condemned by non-sympathizers, it nevertheless automatically adjusts the dose to the patient who probably needs preparation for the larger ones that are likely to follow.

Near the beginning of this article, it was mentioned that there is doubt whether family income or individual income should be the basis of exemptions and deductions. With family income as the basis, there would be more or less discrimination against celibacy in some cases and against marriage in others. If, on the other hand, individual income were the basis, there would be much opportunity for real and pretended transfer of incomes and of great loss of revenue to the government. This loss would be due not only to fraud and evasion but also to the practical raising of the exemption limit in many cases; and it would be greater than appears at first thought because the great bulk of taxable incomes are near the lower limit. All the pertinent charges of discrimination urged against a \$4,000 family exemption would apply with much greater force to one of \$7,000.

Assuming that the present ruling holds, if a single person with a net income between \$3,000 and \$4,000 should marry a person with an independent income such that the total of both

would not be over \$4,000, the two might save an aggregate of one per cent on the amount by which the former's income exceeded \$3,000, that is, the premium on marriage in such a case would vary from one cent to \$10.00. But if two persons with net incomes of \$3,000 or more each should marry, their aggregate exemption would then be \$4,000 in place of \$6,000 as before and the annual penalty for marrying would be one per cent on \$2,000, or \$20.00. Of course, a married couple could secure a similar saving by getting a divorce and dividing the family income.

The above illustrations apply to the "normal" tax only which is levied upon all personal incomes in excess of the exemption. The case is somewhat different with the "additional" tax which applies to net incomes in excess of \$20,000. In the latter case it makes much more difference whether family income or individual income is used as the basis for calculating the tax. The rates of the "additional" tax begin at one per cent on the net income in excess of \$20,000 and under \$50,000 and increase by steps of one per cent to six per cent on the amount in excess of \$500,000. The "additional" tax on a family income of \$600,000 returned as a unit would be \$26,050. If this same income were returned as \$300,000 for husband and wife each, the aggregate taxes of both would be \$20,100 or a saving of \$5,950 annually. If by any means the \$600,000 family income could be returned as individual incomes of, say, \$150,000 each for husband, wife, and two sons, the aggregate taxes of the four would be \$14,200, or a saving of \$11,850 as compared with a single return of the total amount.

It is obvious that a premium would thus be put upon evasion by making individual income the basis and it is equally obvious that a discrimination against marriage, or a premium upon divorce and celibacy, among the wealthy would result from making family income the basis. Possibly this premium would not be large enough to affect marriage or divorce in many cases, but there is no denying that it would be a discrimination. It would be affected to some extent in certain cases by the treatment of alimony payments, that is by whether or not a man would be allowed to deduct them as a part of his expenses, or

whether both he and his divorced wife would have to pay a tax on the same income.²

In this connection it might be mentioned that the bill as passed by the Senate allowed an exemption of \$500 for each of two children, but this was stricken out in conference. This feature was taken by ex-President Roosevelt as a thrust at the "Rooseveltian Family" and he made a vigorous protest that it would be a discrimination against the third and later children and, consequently a premium upon race suicide.³ True, it would have been such a premium, but one of only \$5.00 per child, and only upon those with incomes in excess of \$4,000; not wise or just, but still not very suicidal. Numerous other countries make extra exemptions for children but none of these are anything like so large as \$500 per child, and usually only persons with the smaller incomes are allowed such exemptions.

Another class of discriminations or differentiations in the new income tax occurs in connection with corporations. A corporation, however large or small its net profits, is liable to the normal tax upon the entire income without the \$3,000 or \$4,000 exemption, whereas, an individual or firm competing with it, perhaps of the same size and having the same number of owners, has its profits returned as those of its individual owners, each of whom are allowed the regular exemption.

In addition to this, individuals, including members of firms, may deduct the interest paid on all of their indebtedness, whereas, a corporation may deduct only half the interest on the amount of indebtedness in excess of the amount of capital stock. This latter provision prevents the corporation from escaping the tax by raising nearly all of its capital by means of bonds instead of stocks.

An additional differentiation is that corporations are required to pay the normal tax a second time upon income already taxed at the source, whereas, individuals are not so required. This means that all holding company profits are taxed at least

² Since this was written, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has made a new ruling to the effect, that while both husband and wife may not be allowed aggregate exemptions in excess of \$4,000 (thus making family income the basis of the "normal" tax), the "additional" tax is to be calculated upon the separate incomes of husband and wife if they are from bona fide separate and distinct estates (thus making individual incomes the basis of the "additional" tax). This adoption of different bases for the two parts of the tax appears rather inconsistent.

³ "Premium on Race Suicide," *Outlook*, Sept. 27, 1913.

twice and as many more times as there are wheels within wheels. This may be of considerable importance in many cases as, for example, where a bank owns the stock of trust companies, which in turn own stocks of other corporations, which in turn own other stock, and so on.

It will be observed that, under certain circumstances, there is a discrimination against an individual's income from corporate stock as compared with income from all other sources whether they be corporate bonds, or what not. For example, if an individual gets a salary of \$2,000 and has bonds or real estate or something else which brings in an additional \$1,000 each year, he can escape all income tax by claiming the exemption. But if this extra \$1,000 were his share of profits of a corporation because of his stock ownership, the corporation would pay the tax and give him the remainder in the form of dividends. His exemption rights would not help him in this case so far as the corporate profits are concerned. It is very probable that the corporations will not deduct the tax by cutting the dividends in just this way. They will probably continue to pay the same rates, or if they make cuts, they will cut by more than the amount of the tax. But to say that the tax is so small that it will not make any difference to the stockholder is like saying that any other similar expense representing no investment to the corporation will not affect the stockholder's profits eventually. They all cut into profits, either divided profits, or undivided profits that are to be divided sometime.

On the whole, the collection of taxes upon corporate incomes is apt to be much more effective and complete than in other cases, and in a sense, this, too, may be considered a discrimination against this class of income. The burden and responsibility of collection at the source may be considered, in effect, an additional discrimination against certain corporations, for in some cases it is no small trouble and expense. Great numbers of corporations and individuals acting in divers capacities are burdened in varying degrees, some very little and others very much. The banks and trust companies are among the latter number.

Probably most of these discriminations or differentiations relative to corporate incomes are supported on the theory that

corporations have special privileges, that they are rich and able to pay, that they have abused their powers in the past, that their holding company organizations should be discouraged or broken up, and that they should be held down and punished on general principles, anyway, so that the small man may be given a chance. Not every one would acknowledge or express all of these as reasons but they are in the minds or subconsciousness of a considerable number of people. A great many corporations have themselves or their predecessors to blame for much of this hostility, though this is true more especially of some large corporations and trusts. They have sown to the wind and are reaping the whirlwind. A number of them, however, are beginning to realize the importance and profit of deference to public opinion.

Another and different kind of discrimination in the new law will result from the taxing of all citizens whether residing at home or abroad and of all residents whether citizens or not. This means double taxation in so far as other countries follow the same practice. It may be added, however, that the United States is not the first offender in this respect. Inconsistent with this is the allowing of all foreign owners of American bonds to claim exemption of interest without limit, whereas, domestic owners are limited by the regular exemption clause.

A still different class of discriminations arises through the allowance of deduction for expenses, etc., as will be shown by two or three examples. Losses which occur during the year and which are not compensated for by insurance or otherwise are allowable deductions, much as are expenses of the business, worthless debts and depreciations. Suppose two men each having net operating profits of \$25,000 a year. One sustains a loss of \$25,000 by fire (in excess of insurance) in each of two years, and the other a loss of \$50,000 during one year. The latter would be allowed to deduct \$25,000 for the one year only and would get only half the offset of the former.

To take another example. Deductions are not allowed for personal, family, or living expenses. Rent actually paid by a tenant cannot be deducted from income of the tenant in calculating his tax. Rent received by an owner must be returned as taxable income (subject to exemptions like all other in-

come), but *rental value* of house occupied by an owner is entirely disregarded so far as this tax is concerned. If A lives in his own house and receives income amounting to \$4,000, he pays no tax (assuming he is married). If his business or profession necessitates his moving to another place where he rents a house for \$1,000 which he pays with the \$1,000 rent he receives for his own house, he must pay a tax on the \$1,000 (assuming other income is the same as before). Obviously he is in no better position to pay a tax in the latter case than before. Nor is there any more reason why he should pay it than that his neighbors who own their houses should pay a similar amount. If B owns a mansion on Fifth Avenue, another in Newport, another in Florida, and possibly others elsewhere, and is thus the recipient of \$100,000, however much his worth of actual enjoyable income from such mansions, he pays no tax on it, though A pays on the rent from his modest house, which he must expend for a similar house. It is true that there are many arguments for encouraging home-owning, but most of them have reference to persons who will not be affected by the new tax. Besides the checking of mobility often checks opportunity for improvement of conditions and works hardships in many cases.

According to present rulings, estimated advances in the value of real estate are not to be reported as income, unless increased values are taken up on the books of the individual as an increase of assets. There is much real estate in the United States that is now on the books of its owners as of a certain value. There will be some basis for reckoning the profit or income from this when a sale is made if present records are then available and if the actual selling price can be ascertained, though in some cases the sale may be at a rather distant date. There is much other real estate which is not now carried on any books or at any definite value. Upon what basis will profit or income from it be reckoned when there is a sale? Former state or local assessment valuations may be of assistance but they will be very unreliable in most cases. In view of these facts, much discrimination or injustice is apt to result here, both as between different parcels of real estate and as between this and other classes of income.

Another class of discriminations or differentiations is that resulting from the exemption of income from government bonds. So far as the buyers of bonds are concerned, the discrimination is one in favor of only those bonds already issued, though to such people as fail to understand the capitalization of a tax, it appears as a discrimination in favor of all government bond holders, future as well as present. From the standpoint of the federal government, it makes little difference whether it taxes its own bonds or not, provided it pursues a uniform policy; it is largely a matter of bookkeeping. The introduction of taxation, however, would introduce uncertainty as well as capitalization, and hence would probably mean a net loss to the government. For the federal government to tax state and local government bonds would increase the revenues of the former at the expense of the latter. It is doubtful, however, if the Sixteenth Amendment overrules the long line of constitutional decisions to the effect that neither federal or state governments may tax the instrumentalities of the other.

It is in deference to these same decisions that the compensation of state and local government officials and employees is exempted, though the only federal official salaries exempted are those of present federal judges and the present President for their present terms. The latter exemptions are also for constitutional reasons, that is, because the salaries of these officials may be neither increased nor diminished during the terms for which they have been chosen. Though these legal grounds may be sufficient justification under the circumstances, they do not remove the fact that the exemptions result in real and considerable discrimination in some cases. There are many state and local officials with good salaries, some of them considerably in excess of what their receivers could secure for similar services in other capacities, and yet they will pay no income tax. It is true that many government officials are not properly paid, but it is just as true that many are over-paid.

The exemption of labor, agricultural, fraternal beneficiary organizations, mutual savings banks, domestic building and loan associations and other so-called non-profit making organizations is evidently a discrimination in order to favor undertakings which it is deemed should be encouraged. It will take

very careful rulings in many of these cases, however, to prevent exemptions and abuses which the spirit of the law would not permit.

Such are some of the more important discriminations and differentiations of the new income tax. In its more technical sense, the term "differentiation" would scarcely be applicable to but one of the important classes of discriminations discussed herein, namely, that with reference to corporate income. In reference to such income, the United States follows a practice not uncommon in other countries, though it is interesting to note that Japan follows the reverse practice, that of differentiating in favor of corporations. The important exemptions of our tax might be considered differentiations in reality, though exemptions are not usually so classed. The differentiation most common in other countries, that between earned and unearned incomes, is not found in our new law at all, nor is there any higher rate upon income from the property of absentees than upon that from property of residents as is the case with some Australian taxes. It seems scarcely necessary to say in conclusion that the income tax as a whole should not be judged entirely upon such a partial representation as is possible in an article that deals with only one side or phase of it. It is true, as has been pointed out, that there are defects in the law which should not have been incorporated in it in the first place. Furthermore, some of the official rulings and interpretations have not been the most fortunate ones possible. But taking all things into consideration, the new tax offers opportunities for great improvement in our revenue system. As has been indicated already, in the establishment of the new system, administrative considerations are important, if not controlling. Though some defects could be remedied at once, most improvements should be postponed until initial difficulties are overcome. With the development of efficient administration, various differentiations and refinements can be made and we should see to it that they are made in due time—but surest and greatest progress will be achieved by making haste slowly in the beginning.

Dante and His Influence Upon the English Poets

WILLIAM A. WEBB

President of Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

When the poet in Tennyson's " Palace of Art " built for his soul a " lordly pleasure-house " he adorned its walls with the pictures of many an old world myth and legend, but the throne room of his palace he reserved for the choice paintings of wise men. The poets chosen for representation were old Homer with his million wrinkles, " Milton like a seraph strong," " Shakespeare bland and mild," and " world-worn Dante " who " grasped his song and somewhat grimly smiled." In selecting these four, Homer, Milton, Shakespeare, and Dante, as first among the world poets, Tennyson not only expressed his own preference, but voiced the generally accepted opinion of his day. But, if in the more than four score years that have elapsed since the publication of the " Palace of Art " in 1832, the year which also marked the death of the sage of Weimar, the name of Milton has been slowly replaced by that of Goethe as fourth "among the sons of light," surely the passing of the years has had no effect upon the standing of the other three. Their places are secure for all time, and the purpose of this paper is not so much to call attention to Dante's position in this mighty triumvirate as it is to test his greatness by tracing the significance and extent of his influence upon some of the greater English poets. But before taking up the immediate task in hand, may we not give a word of consideration to the character of the man and the scope of his work?

The thirteenth century was pre-eminently a period of storm and stress. The shadows projected by the dark ages were still black and somber, but the eastern horizon was already aglow with the radiant dawn of the Renaissance in the world of art and letters and the Reformation in the realm of politics and religion. Italy was torn by the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. It was quite impossible for a man of Dante's temperament to keep aloof from the quarrels of church and state. An intense patriot, he loved his native city Florence and

threw himself vigorously into the political life of the day. He served in campaigns of his city, accepted civil office, and was in a fair way of becoming one of the political leaders of the day had not the party with which he was affiliated lost the ascendancy with the result that he with others was banished from his native city. To the eternal shame of Florence, this order of banishment was made perpetual, and it was further decreed should he by any chance come within the power of the state he should be burned alive. From that time on Dante was a wanderer and an outcast on the face of the earth. At his death his bones found a resting place in Ravenna and there they have remained to this day, although Florence, repenting in sackcloth and ashes, has vainly pleaded the boon of their return.

“Ungrateful Florence!” cries Byron,
“Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar,
Like Scipio, buried by the upbraiding shore;
Thy factions, in their worse than civil war,
Proscribed the bard whose name for evermore
Their children’s children would in vain adore
With the remorse of ages.”

But Dante’s political interest swept far beyond the limits of his native land and embraced some of the larger problems of world politics. Perhaps he alone of his contemporaries foresaw the inevitable conflict that was to shake the nations of Western Europe, the conflict between the Papacy and the Empire. In his “*De Monarchia*,” a noble plea for a universal temporal monarchy co-existent with the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope, he anticipated the ultimate separation of Church and State and boldly defended the supremacy of the State in all civil affairs, a worthy forerunner of Wycliffe and Luther, though, unlike them, he remained to the end a loyal and devoted son of the Catholic church. But it is Dante the poet, Dante the lover of Beatrice, Dante the author of the “*Divine Comedy*” that appeals to the universal human heart today. We are willing to forget the brawls of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, or the more significant quarrels of the popes and emperors, but when we neglect Dante the poet we disregard the greatest spiritual force making for sweetness and light granted to the

world between the death of Christ and the birth of Shakespeare.

The best introduction to the study of Dante is his own autobiography, fancifully entitled the "New Life," a record composed in prose and verse of his friendship for Beatrice Portinari, the beautiful girl who came into his life when he saw her for the first time as a youth of nine, and who after a brief earthly existence passed into the other world to become the most potent influence in his whole after life. And so the "New Life" is the history of a life made new by the first experience and lasting influence of love, and very beautifully and appropriately closes with a resolution to speak no more of Beatrice until he shall be able to say of her what was never said of any woman, a promise not to be redeemed until after the passage of many weary years he gave to the world his masterpiece.

The "Divine Comedy" is one of the great spiritual biographies of the race. It epitomizes and summarizes the observations of a statesman, the experiences of a philosopher, the visions of a mystic, and the aspirations of a poet whose heart beat in loving sympathy with the highest ideals of mankind. Judged by the canons of literature, it is a unique production. It is usually classed among the epic poems, but how widely it differs from all its predecessors! The adventures of its hero, the author himself, are more marvelous than those of Ulysses or Aeneas. Their wanderings were occasioned by the petty jealousies and angry contentions of mere Olympian deities; his were guided and directed from Heaven itself by the immediate representatives of human and divine wisdom. They spent fruitless years in smiting the sounding furrows of the Middle Sea, and when at last they reached their havens, the one landed on the barren island of Utica and the other on the sandy shore of Latium. But Dante's wanderings led him through the nine circles of Hell, the seven stages of Purgatory, the nine planets of Heaven, and when at length he reached his journey's end he is vouchsafed admission into the Empyrean itself, where he catches a vision of the unspeakable glories that circle around the living Godhead.

The purpose, too, of this epic is unlike that of all its fellows. Its aim is not so much to delight, as it is "to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort, to form men's characters by teaching them what forces of life will meet with rewards, what with penalty hereafter." Very clearly has Dante expressed it in his letter to his friend and patron, Can Grande della Scala: "The subject, then, of the whole work," he says, "is simply a consideration of the state of souls after death; for from and around this the action of the whole work turneth. But if the work is considered according to its allegorical meaning, the subject is man, liable to reward or punishment, of justice, according as through the freedom of the will he is deserving or undeserving." And again, "the aim of the whole and of the individual parts is to bring those who are living in this life out of the state of misery and to guide them to the state of happiness."

The form of the poem is too well known to delay us long. In the middle period of his life Dante finds himself perplexed in the midst of a vast wood, where he is joined by the poet Vergil, who has been commissioned by the blessed Beatrice to be his guide and companion through Hell and Purgatory. The two poets begin their journey and pass down through the circles of Hell devoted successively to the punishment of carnal lust, prodigality, avarice, heresy, violence, hypocrisy, and treachery. In each circle they find wretches expiating their crimes by punishments suited in kind. For example, those who held that the life of the individual ended with death, are punished by being imprisoned in red-hot graves; murderers and tyrants are plunged into streams of boiling blood; corrupt officials lie in lakes of seething pitch; hypocrites groan under the terrible burdens of leaden copes they are compelled to wear; thieves still ply their nefarious practices, changing shapes with serpents in never ending metamorphoses; flatterers wallow in their own filth; and the lustful are driven about by whirlwinds of passion. In assigning these punishments, the poet is as inexorable as fate itself. Neither rank, social position, wealth, nor friendship can save the sinners from their just doom. Popes, kings, emperors, poets, warriors touch elbow with petty politicians, scheming priests, and loathsome panders, whose very names would long since have rotted had they not been granted

a hateful immortality in the lines of the poet's scorn. But the horrors of Hell are at last passed, and the poets escape to the Mount of Purgatory, where an angel traces on Dante's forehead the seven P's, the sign of the seven deadly sins of the church which shall be washed away symbolically as he passes through the seven stages of Purgatory. When the last ascent has been passed, Vergil takes leave of his friend. He can guide him no further because this is the limit of human knowledge. But the poet is not left alone; on the summit of the mount of the earthly paradise he beholds the glorified Beatrice, who is to accompany him through the remainder of his journey. Purified by her love and guided by her presence, he mounts up through the nine heavens of the Ptolemaic system to the ineffable rose of dawn, where he stands before the actual seat of the Godhead. Here Beatrice's beauty reaches such heights that human eyes may not behold it nor human words describe it. Her work is complete, and she takes her place once more among the blessed, and the poem closes, for now the poet's desire and will have been brought into harmony with the divine love, "the love that keeps the sun in its course, and journeys with the planets in their orbits."

Dante died in 1321, and his vision has become one of the great spiritual possessions not only of his own race but of all mankind, for it is the law of the spiritual world that genius cannot be confined to the limitations of a single nationality or tongue. It is questionable whether supreme greatness may be ascribed to any poet whose works have not passed beyond the borders of his fatherland and been accepted to the bosom of people who know not his native tongue. And thus the great poets of any age and of any nation become the common heritage of all ages and of all nations. Their influence, no longer limited to racial or national boundaries, becomes a potent factor in cementing the peoples of the earth into closer bonds of fellowship and in promoting the ideals of universal brotherhood.

And now may we consider briefly the debt of gratitude our own English literature owes to the mighty Florentine? A half-century after Dante's death Geoffrey Chaucer, then a young man in his prime, made his first visit to Italy, sent thither on a

diplomatic mission by the court of Edward III. A second mission followed a few years later; and these two visits were of the greatest value to him in the development of his literary activity. First of the English poets to come under the romantic spell of Italy, he brought back with him not only a knowledge of the Italian language and literature, but in all probability the memory of a personal acquaintanceship with Petrarch and Boccaccio, and possibly the first complete copy of the "Divine Comedy" that reached the shores of England. From this time one finds many references to Dante in his works. In all, he mentions him no less than six times, and refers to or quotes from him in at least sixteen separate poems. His "House of Fame" shows many traces of Dante's influence, and in his "Monk's Tale" he incorporates the complete story of Ugolino and the Tower of Hunger, giving due credit to the "grete poete of Itaille that highte Dante." He also translates the exquisite prayer to the Virgin Mary found in the twenty-third canto of the "Paradise," perhaps his greatest service to his countrymen in acquainting them with the beauties of Dante.

But while Chaucer felt the charm of much of Dante's verse, it is questionable whether he grasped the deeper significance of his meaning. The two poets looked out on life from opposite points of view. Chaucer was neither a philosopher nor a theologian, and cared little for questions of ecclesiastical politics or philosophical dogma. Lighthearted and gay, he delighted to watch the changing fashions, the showy parades, the gorgeous pageants of the court. Life was indeed a pilgrimage, but a joyous pilgrimage to Canterbury. Dante, on the other hand, was world-worn and sad; "the mournfulest face," says Carlyle, "that ever was painted from reality." Lonely and in exile, he brooded over the sorrows and misfortune of life and vainly strove to alleviate the inequalities of the religious and political world. No wonder the people of Verona said, as he passed along the streets, "See, there is the man that was in Hell." But if Chaucer's gay verse fails to reflect the sternness of soul that characterizes the writings of Dante, let us not forget that it was he who first introduced Dante to English readers; and from that day to this no man who would know the literature of England can afford to be ignorant of Dante.

Whether Spenser, the author of the "Fairie Queene," was acquainted with the "Divine Comedy" or not is a mooted question, but the formidable array of parallel passages collected by scholars from Todd to Paget Toynbee,¹ together with the fact that he was one of the most learned of English poets and was deeply read both in ancient and modern literature, makes a strong presumptive case in favor of the affirmative. But there is no question about the high esteem in which his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, held the Italian poet. In the semi-humorous climax to his "Apologie for Poetry," Sidney promises a great reward to those who shall no longer scorn the mysteries of poetry or laugh at the name of poets. "Thus doing," he says, "your name shall flourish in the printer's shops; thus doing, you shall be of kin to many a poetical preface. You shall be most fair, most rich, most wise, most all; you shall dwell upon superlatives; your soul shall be placed with Dante's Beatrix and Virgil's Anchises." And this is possibly the first mention of Beatrice's name in English literature.

Ben Jonson's works yield but a single allusion, but that contains proof that Rare Ben had an honest tongue in his head: "Dante is hard and few can understand him," says Lady Politick, in "Volpone, or the Fox." (Act III., Sec. 2).

Shakespeare's name we must omit from the list of English poets who received direct inspiration from Dante, though his dramas as well as his sonnets contain passages whose germinal ideas may be readily traced to the works of the Florentine.

With the advent of Milton we reach an English poet who not only understood and appreciated Dante, but also received from him the inspiration for his greatest work. After graduating from Cambridge and spending some years at his father's country home at Horton, Milton, you recall, made the grand tour of the Continent, devoting some time to travel and study among the Italian cities. For a number of years he had been a diligent student of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto, and was well prepared to appreciate the opportunities offered in Italy for intellectual culture. He spent two months in Florence, visited the aged Galileo, and became proficient in the art of

¹ Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*, two volumes, Macmillan, is a storehouse rich in material for which the student of English literature as well as of Dante is profoundly grateful.

composing Italian sonnets. But the outbreak of hostilities at home constituted a call of duty he could not resist, and he returned to England to become the Latin Secretary of Cromwell. It was not until after the Restoration shattered his hopes for the immediate future of the English people and brought upon his own head ignominy and neglect, that the bard, now blind, found leisure in the retirement of private life for the composition of his immortal epic.

Even before his visit to Italy, Milton reveals his indebtedness to Dante. In a commonplace book kept in 1637, he makes numerous quotations with comments from the "Divine Comedy," as well as allusions to Boccaccio's "Life of Dante." The magnificent passage in "Lycidas," containing St. Peter's denunciation of unworthy pastors, was probably suggested by a passage of a similar nature in the "Paradise" where St. Peter rebukes his degenerate successors. In a letter dated from Florence, the traveler tells of his delight at being able occasionally to slip away from the multitude and to feast on Dante and Petrarch. And again in his "Apology for Smectymnuus" he links in high praise the names of Dante and Petrarch as "the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honor to them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgressions." In the sonnet dedicated to his friend Henry Lawes, the musician, Milton pays him the fine compliment of comparing him to Dante's friend Casella, the famous musician of Florence.

"Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing,
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory."

But it is in "Paradise Lost" that Dante's influence on Milton becomes most apparent. How large a tribute Milton laid upon his knowledge of the "Divine Comedy" in the composition of his own masterpiece is seen not only in the general frame-work of the poem, but particularly in the delineation of the physical aspects and moral character of its chief actor Satan. Do not imagine, however, that Milton has slavishly copied his characters or his cosmology from his predecessor. Whatever he borrowed he refashioned and burnished and hallmarked with the seal of his own individuality and ownership.

As both poets wrote on themes that covered in part at least the same ground, and as both made use of the same authorities, it is not surprising to find many things in common in the two poems. The descriptions of Hell and its inhabitants will furnish us as good an opportunity as any for comparing methods and noting points of similarity and contrast between the two artists. It is a commonplace of criticism to affirm that Dante's power of description is more realistic, while Milton's is more sublime. Dante gives the metes and bounds of Hell with great minuteness, and marks out its confines, its divisions and subdivisions with almost mathematical accuracy. Milton, on the other hand, paints all with a broad brush. Hell is vast, huge, "waste and wild." The lake of fire is "fed with ever-burning sulphur unconsumed," and is surrounded by a frozen continent "beat with perpetual storms of whirlwind and dire hail," a "universe of death,"

"Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire."

Dante's Hell is guarded by Charon, Cerberus, the Minotaur, the Centaurs,—all monsters of classical mythology; but the objects of its punishments are rulers of church and state, the living and the dead, citizens of Florence, friends and enemies of the poet,—in fact, human beings of like passions as ourselves, and this produces not infrequently on the modern mind a feeling of repulsion. This pitfall Milton has avoided. In his Hell, it is the rebellious angels alone who are suffering torment, and it is only by implication that we learn that these punishments may be held in reserve for generations of men yet unborn.

Dante and Vergil found Lucifer fixed immovably in ice in the nethermost pit of Hell, devouring with his three mouths the three arch-traitors, Cassius, Brutus, and Judas Iscariot. As the younger poet, fortified by the words of his companion, gazed upon the hateful form of the adversary, "the creature eminent in beauty once," he had no difficulty in believing him to be the source of all our woe.

" Were he as fair once, as he now is foul,
 And lifted up his brow against his Maker,
 Well may proceed from him all tribulation.
 Oh, what a marvel it appeared to me,
 When I beheld three faces on his head!
 Underneath each came forth two mighty wings,
 Such as befitting were so great a bird;
 Sails of the sea I never saw so large
 With six eyes did he weep, and down three chins
 Trickled the teardrops and the bloody drivel."

Now let us turn to Milton's Satan. In the opening book we see him lying prone upon the lake of fire, in bulk as huge as the earthborn monsters of classical mythology, or

" that sea beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim the ocean stream."

We next see him striding over the burning marl with his ponderous shield hung upon his shoulder;

" His spear, to equal with the tallest pine,
 Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand."

When he towers above the rest of his companions he dominates them with his imperial presence, for

" His form had not let lost
 All her original brightness, nor appeared
 Less than archangel ruined"

" His face
 Deep scars of thunder had entrenched, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
 Waiting revenge."

The words of defiance which he hurls at his Maker give the keynote to his character:

" The mind is its own place, and in itself
 Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.
 . . . Here at least
 We shall be free
 Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven."

In Dante then Satan is repulsive and horrible, a mere mon-

ster, who neither arouses our sympathies by his sufferings nor compels our admiration by reason of his great powers of mind and body. Milton's Satan, on the contrary, is one of the supremely interesting characters of all literature. His unlimited capacity for endurance, his boundless ambition, his self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of his followers, his human pity for their sufferings, his Prometheus-like indifference to pain and torture, his superb courage and dauntless daring give him a unique place among the heroes of fiction. It is here that Milton has surpassed in sublime daring the great Florentine. Both poets followed the patristic legend which represented Satan or Lucifer—the son of the morning—as having fallen into the sin of pride when on the day of his creation he beheld his ineffable beauty; and this was the occasion of his rebellion. But from this point on, their treatment of the rebel angel was as far apart as the poles. Milton deliberately chose to protest against the grotesque form his predecessor had given him. If Dante meant to represent Satan as only base and hideous, Milton would seem to imply that nobleness of mind and sincerity of purpose may not be altogether disassociated with rebellion and sin, certainly in their earlier stages.

But if Milton has surpassed Dante in the delineation of Hell and Satan, what shall we say of their relative merits when they undertake to depict the glories of Heaven and its divine inhabitants? Here indeed the honors are reversed, and the Protestant poet yields the palm to his Catholic predecessor. How tedious is the versified theology of the Son's speeches in "*Paradise Lost!*" How insipid the passages in which the Father pronounces judgment upon Adam and Eve; how monotonous the heavenly landscape! On the other hand, where in "*Paradise Lost*," or for that matter in any other work of the imagination, will you find a scene comparable in grandeur to the vision of God revealed in the closing canto of the "*Divine Comedy*"? Shall we say that mediæval mysticism furnished better food-stuff for the poets than Calvinistic anthropomorphism. But why continue the comparison further? The more one studies these two masterpieces, the more convinced one is of the fact that each complements the other. Dante is pre-eminently the prophet of the Middle Ages. His poem represents Cathol-

icism at the time of its greatest triumph. There is not yet the deadening effect of intellectual restraint, or the absence of that liberty of thought which in later times becomes associated with the history of the Catholic Church. The "Divine Comedy" breathes the spirit of free speculation and unites harmoniously the forces of Catholicism with the conception of the state reflected in the Holy Roman Empire. Milton, on the other hand, is the High Priest of Protestantism; not alone the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, but, as Professor Moulton points out, the Protestantism of the Renaissance as well. Taken altogether, the "Divine Comedy" and "Paradise Lost" represent the most vital expression of man's relation to the Infinite found in modern literature.

To the eighteenth century Dante was a sealed book. Goldsmith thought his reputation was due to the obscurity of the times in which he lived. Horace Walpole dubbed him "extravagant, absurd, disgusting; in short, a Methodist preacher in Bedlam." It remained for Thomas Gray to reintroduce him into English literature. Like Chaucer and Milton before him, Gray traveled extensively in Italy and was deeply versed in her literature. He translated the story of Ugolino, and embalmed for all time in his "Elegy" one of Dante's lines: "The curfew tolls the knell of parting day," reproduces in words and sentiment "the vesper bell from far, that seems to mourn for the expiring day."

The influence of Dante on Coleridge came too late to affect that small but incomparably great contribution of his to the body of English poetry. But in his lectures on Shakespeare, and especially his lecture on Dante delivered in 1812, he analyzed with discrimination and power the sources of Dante's strength, and helped to disseminate a knowledge of Dante among English readers by his appreciative reference to Cary's translation of the "Divine Comedy," which had fallen stillborn from the press some four years earlier.

On Wordsworth Dante seems to have made little lasting impression. And yet he could not escape the charm and grace of Dante's sonnets. "Scorn not the sonnet," he says, in what has become the classic apology for this form of literature:

" Scorn not the sonnet. With this key
Shakespeare unlocked his heart; the melody
Of this small lute gave ease to Petrarch's wound;
A thousand times this pipe did Tasso sound;
With it Camoens soothed an exile's grief.
The sonnet glittered a gay myrtle leaf
Amid the cypress with which Dante crowned
His visionary brow."

Byron's acquaintance with Dante began as early as his school days at Harrow, but it is not until he took up his residence in Italy in 1816 that he came under his influence. In the fourth canto of his "Childe Harold," that inspired guide-book of Italian cities, lakes, landscapes, and politics, he continually reminds his readers that the soil of Italy has been made sacred by the footsteps of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Boccaccio, and makes many allusions to them also in his prose journals and letters. He was rather fond of comparing his own position in life with Dante's. His exile, his unhappy marriage, his zeal for Italian liberty and unity, gave some point to the comparison; but what a world of difference between the romantic melancholy of "Childe Harold's" self-imposed exile and the bitter soul-consuming sorrow of the Florentine!

The "Prophesy of Dante," an ambitious poem which foretells the "fortunes of Italy in the ensuing centuries," contains some stirring lines, wears the mark of Dante in its *terza rima*, its division into cantos, and in its recital of Italian wrongs, but the voice is the voice of Byron, not Dante. But if Byron, the poet, fails to sound the spiritual depths of the "Tuscan father's comedy divine," Byron, the scoffer, finds material in some of its most solemn scenes and incidents for the mocking gibes and cynical jests of his Don Juan. The cannibalism of the shipwrecked sailors is justified by the reference to the pathetic story of Ugolino:

" If Pedrillo's fate should mocking be,
Remember Ugolino condescends
To eat the head of his arch-enemy
The moment after he politely ends
His tale: if foes be food in hell, at sea
'Tis surely fair to dine upon our friends,
When shipwreck's short allowance grows too scanty,
Without being much more horrible than Dante."

Even Dante's passion for Beatrice does not escape his Mephistophelian laughter.

But let us not take Don Juan too seriously. For after all, Byron did have a tremendous admiration for Dante, the patriot and the man. "I don't wonder," he says to Medwin, "at the enthusiasm of the Italians for Dante. He is the poet of liberty. Persecution, exile, the dread of a foreign grave could not shake his principles."

Shelley followed Byron to Italy in 1818, and from that date until the fateful boat ride in the Gulf of Spezzia, four years later, he was an enthusiastic and appreciative student of Italy's greatest poet. Dante's influence reveals itself on almost every page of his writings. It is felt not only in the choice of selections he made for translations including the Ugolino incident, the picture of Matilda gathering flowers, and the first ode from the Convito, but also in the romantic imagery of the "Prometheus Unbound," the "Triumph of Life," and the "Epipsy-chidion." In striking contrast to Lord Byron, Shelley's attitude toward Dante was always reverential. He believed that in tenderness, sensibility, and ideal beauty Dante had excelled all poets except Shakespeare. As an epic poet, he was second only to Homer, and as a religious reformer Luther surpassed him rather in rudeness and acrimony than in boldness of his censures of papal usurpation. "His Vita Nuova," to quote directly from his "Defence of Poetry," "is an inexhaustible fountain of purity of sentiment and language; it is the idealized history of that period and those intervals of his life which were dedicated to love. His apotheosis of Beatrice in Paradise, and the gradations of his own love and her loveliness, by which as by steps he feigns himself to have ascended to the throne of the Supreme Cause, is the most glorious imagination of modern poetry . . . The poetry of Dante may be considered as the bridge thrown over the stream of time, which unites the modern and the ancient world. The distorted notions of invisible things which Dante and his rival Milton have idealized are merely the mask and the mantle in which these great poets walk through eternity enveloped and disguised."

Keats knew Dante only in the three minute volumes of Cary which fit so snug in his traveling bag; but they were sufficient

to open up "realms of gold" almost as goodly as those "that deep-browed Homer ruled." "Dante is less to be commended," he wrote to Haydon, "than loved, and they who truly feel his charm will need no argument for their passionate fondness."

Our survey of English poetry has brought us well within the limits of the nineteenth century. Hitherto Dante had been a poet's poet, or, to be more exact, a scholar's poet, and his English readers had been largely limited to those who knew him in his native tongue. But from now on there was to be a gratifying growth of interest in his writings among the English speaking nations of the earth. Cary's translation aided tremendously in popularizing him; the glowing pages of Macaulay, Carlyle, and Ruskin acquainted their countrymen with the nobility of his character, the beauty of his verse, and the moral grandeurs of his spiritual ideals. To the poets of the new generation, to Tennyson, to the Brownings, to Matthew Arnold, to Rossetti, to Stephen Phillips, he continued to be an unfailing source of inspiration and uplift. From him they received new conceptions of the reality of life and new visions of the possibility of human growth and development. And the end is not yet. As Bishop Welldon says, "The interest in Dante is perennial. There is no limit to it in time or place or among civilized mankind. He is one of the mortals who know not death nor decadence; over him the changes of the world assert no power; to him each generation of men turns for an answer to their own deepest moral and spiritual questionings, nor turns less eagerly, because his answer cannot be, and in their hearts they know it cannot be, their own."

Some Irish Plays and Social Sketches

ELBRIDGE COLBY

Proudfoot Fellow in Letters, Columbia University.

We have heard a great deal during recent years, about the Irish National Theatre. Mr. William Butler Yeats, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Lady Gregory have been prominent figures in connection with this dramatic phase of the "Irish Revival", either as enthusiastic supporters, as loyal backers, or as contributors of acting pieces. The name of J. M. Synge has been conspicuous on programs of "The Irish Players." Many magazine articles have discussed the establishment and progress of the idea.

Little was evinced in the way of disparagement until the *Dublin Review*, in January, 1913, printed a very discerning article by Mr. Charles Bewley on "The Irish National Theatre." In that paper it was rather definitely stated that many of the pieces produced by this company, particularly those of Synge, were not typically Irish in character at all, as an eager public had assumed them to be. The writer claimed that these works lacked true proportion. In other literature, as in Shakespeare's Scotch piece, *Macbeth*, for instance, in order not to give a picture with distorted perspective, typical characters were introduced for purposes of balance and made to remark upon the peculiarity of the peculiar character. Thus is established the relation of literary figures to real life. By some one—it matters little whom, but by some one at least—madness must be recognized and called madness, crime must be labelled, folly must be seen clearly to be folly, or all the world turns mad, criminal, or foolish. The objection stated by Mr. Bewley is a valid one, and the general trend of his argument coincided with what has long been the conviction of the present writer—that the present "Irish Revival," as evinced in drama, prose, and poetry is essentially unrepresentative of the Irish life, mind, and spirit. The feeling has gone abroad that Mr. Yeats, Fiona MacLeod and J. M. Synge have exploited Ireland as a literary opportunity worth while, have loved the fantasy, the myth and the legend of the race, and have shown the Celtic world as through a mist of tears. A'

sense of tragedy, and a feeling for the beauty of the tragic,—or a quizzical inspection of life itself—these determine the general tone of the works of these men. They are devotees of a beauty that does not exist; they waste, in dreaming of times past, energies that might well be utilized for more worthy ends.

Standing in contrast to the above writers is an Irishman familiar to Americans, and to the Irish at home and in America, as a lecturer, as a story-teller, and as a dramatist of ability—Mr. Seumas Mac Manus. He is one who has found that Irish patriotism and truth in Irish portraiture are not incompatible with literary achievement. He was born and bred among Donegal people and, in the words of *The New Ireland Review*, “Their thoughts are his thoughts, he lives their life, he is happy in their happiness, and grieves with their grief.” His work is part of an “Irish Revival” in a far deeper and truer and more powerful sense than that of the literary aesthete and indifferent spectator, an Irish Revival evident in the social, the industrial, the economic conditions of the whole land. Life is changing, and there are fresh and stirring forces at work. A new Patriotism has sprung to birth, and new currents of industry stir among the people. Animated by their rising hopes, the writers of Young Ireland stand true to conditions of today—with no shifting mists or indefinite yearnings—remain true to life, and face forward.

The surest test of truth is success, especially in the case of plays in the nature of social sketches. The plays of Mr. Mac Manus were first presented to the most severe judges of his subject, to the Irish themselves; and the approval accorded them in Ireland, in spite of the fact that their analyses are often uncomplimentary, even harshly critical, proves their worth. They were written to supply a demand for short pieces suitable for amateur presentation. Mr. Mac Manus met the needs of the hour; but, not only that, he builded better than he knew. His plays have been acted in almost every corner of the hills and in almost every valley of Ireland. Further than this they have been taken to pastures new, and in America they have been presented on many occasions, in many cities, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Coast.

And, further yet, they, in their success, stand as a powerful living protest against the shams, the superstitions, the trivialities, the falsity and untruth of what has been called the "Irish Revival."

The Woman of Seven Sorrows is an allegorical study of the fortunes of *Shiela ni Gara*, "the little old woman"—that is, Ireland. A publisher's note which appears at the back of the book throws some light on the intent of Mr. Mac Manus: "As this metrical drama proved, when produced at the Sambain festival, to be a successful stage play, the author resolved to put it forth in book form, in order that country Dramatic Societies might be enabled to make use of it for propagandist purposes. All such in Ireland, who wish to use it, will be made welcome to it, free of acting fee."

Shiela is continually accompanied by Memory and Hope. Her pride is humbled, her house crumbled, and thought of glories that were hers but gives pain:

Shiela:

Oft on my woeful journey has it seemed, as now, but yet a little way;
and I, though faint, and fain to rest, ta'en heart again, and stumbled on,
to find when next I looked, 'twas far, and far—or gone. It is a mirage.
. . . . Would any own this way-worn woman, queen—this woman of
the tear-stained face, and thorn-pierced feet, of wind-tossed hair, and
garments rent and poor—would any own her queen?

Hope:

Yes, yes, ten thousand thousand hearts beat true to Shiela still, and
love her all the dearer for her woes.

The "seven sorrows" are denials of assistance by seven persons who had formerly pledged allegiance. The farewell of a country boy about to join the emigration is worthy of quotation: it illustrates an attitude:

"I wearied of my cramped life within the circling hills that gloomed our home; my hands were wearied on the spade; my eyes were wearied watching o'er the ring that shut me in; my heart went weary yearning, yearning—for—I know not what. Young men left our hills, and wandered far, and sailed the seas, and after years returned with tidings strange of lands beyond, where life is life, and hearts can never hunger. They told of cities fair, with spires and domes that glittered in the sun, and—gold, and gold, and gold! In nightly dreams, and dreams by day, I see these cities now. Their flashing domes, and

glittering spires bewitch my soul, and stay I cannot. I cannot break the hidden power that draws me."

Thus does Mac Manus sketch the false and unworthy attractions which seduce to emigration.

If, in the first part of the play, the nationalistic motive is prominent, in Shiela's closing speech it bursts forth triumphant, with full power for the grand finale. We have been told of the sorrows of "the little old woman," how of her sons and daughters some had wearied of the struggle, and some had been torn away by dire necessity or lured afar to push their fortunes in foreign lands and among strange peoples. It is for this reason that in her despair The Dark Rose would banish Memory along with Hope, banish remembrance of bitter oppressions and tragic partings of the past, bloody slaughters that took the flower of her youth, and persistent emigrations that sapped her strength. Thus the theme is strangely nationalistic, with emphasis on the idea of disloyalty in those who leave her and insistence on her need of support. The ending is bravely patriotic and loyally hopeful.

Before leaving this splendid little play, we cannot refrain from mentioning a few thoughts that come into our mind in connection with it concerning Mr. Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*. Mr. Yeats also tells a story of the love of the countryman for Shiela ni Gara, the "little old woman". He lays his scene at the time of a "rising" and shows how the Irishman leaves his lands, his parents, his brother, and even his newly betrothed wife to follow the "little old woman" who represents Ireland. There are two striking passages in the piece: the first is the exit of Kathleen ni Houlihan, down the road, off-stage, declaring in ringing tones, of those who shall support her: "They shall be remembered forever—and forever—and forever". The second comes after the departure of the older brother Michael. Patrick, the younger brother enters and, being questioned, says he has seen, not as all expected him to say—an old woman going along the street, but a young woman, with flowers in her hair, *and she walked like a queen*. Except for these two flashes of the ardent Irish spirit, the general tone of Mr. Yeats's piece seems to be de-

pressing. He is continually insisting on the tragedy of life in Ireland brought on by nationalism; his picture is drawn from the point of view of the family. Kathleen ni Houlihan is scarcely more, to him, than a grim enchantress who breaks up the happiness of the family circle. With Mr. Mac Manus the canvas is reversed, it is disloyalty to the cause that brings about anguish rather than loyalty to it, and it is Kathleen ni Houlihan who is hurt rather than any individuals. It is a matter of interpretation: Mr. Yeats thinks of the harm of the exactions, Mr. Mac Manus of the joy of the service; Mr. Yeats thinks of the fact, Mr. Mac Manus of the spirit that actuates the fact; Mr. Yeats thinks of the test of loyalty as a cruel intervention, Mr. Mac Manus as a glorious transfiguration; to Mr. Yeats the "little old woman" makes an unreasonable demand, to Mr. Mac Manus she merely receives her due.

The others of the plays of Mr. Mac Manus are chiefly realistic pictures of Irish life and character. Of these there is a small group which carry a nationalistic argument, while the others are largely of a social nature. *The Hard Hearted Man*, *Orange and Green*, *Rory Wins*, and *Bong Tong Come to Balriddery*—each of them seem to admit of classification as a play with a purpose.

To say of *The Hard Hearted Man* that, on account of its propagandist nature, the author offers it for playing purposes free of acting fee, is a good indication of the purpose of the piece. It is an anti-emigration play of merit and conviction. The "hard hearted man" is one who discountenances a youth's going to America, who offers work on his own place, and who, finally, at the end of the play, when the "Yankee" has come home repentant, gives him work to do. From this play we learn that emigration is all a matter of pride, that a haughty refusal to dig the neighbor's land for a wage is more often the cause of leaving than dire necessity. With employment offered him in Ireland, William Breslin plans to leave his old father behind and to "push his fortune" in America. It is, as we have said, a matter of pride. "I mean", says Breslin, "no man who's a man, would live here, in hunger and hardships, and when there's such a country as Amerikey afore him."

The opposite stand, taken by Maurice Ruddy, he who offered

the job, the hard-hearted man, is interesting and constitutes the force of the nationalistic argument:

"Small wonder Ireland is dhriving to the devil—All that I have seen since them days was the sorry sight of our poor country going from bad to worse—bein' driven headlong to the devil by careless ones, that will neither help the country themselves, nor teach their childe to help her; but teaching their childe three things always To forget their country's language, an' to forget their country, an' to get out of their country as fast as they can My black curse upon the emigrant ship! for it's takin' the flower of our girls an' the pick of our men, from innocence here to the greed an' the shame an' the guilt, the unhappy life an' the remorseful death there."

Realism is the chief characteristic of all these plays—including the small patriotic group just discussed. *The Lad from Largy-more*, *Dinny O'Dowd*, *Nabby Harren's Matching*, *Mrs. Connolly's Cashmere*, and *The Leadin' Road to Donegal*, each of these is brief and true to life, and each is built around a very good situation. *The Leadin' Road to Donegal* seems to the present writer very nearly, if not certainly, the best of all of this type. It runs as follows: Taidy, the tailor, and his wife are sitting up late to finish a suit for a wedding the morrow. Just as they are about to go to bed Taidy discovers that the little dog has been playing with the coat and vest of the suit and got them all dirty on the floor. There are a few warm words, and Taidy finally exclaims: "There she goes—there she goes now. Set a woman's tongue goin', an' Bonnyparty himself, at the head of all his army, couldn't stop it." Each accuses the other of being a talk-apace; and finally they agree that the first who speaks a single word "will have to put breedin' on the little dog." They settle before the fire again. The climax comes with the arrival of travelers at confused cross-roads outside the cabin who desire to be told or pointed out the leadin' road to Donegal. Remembering their pledge neither Taidy nor Mary speaks, and in turn a footman and a driver flee the room in consternation deeming some spell to be on the cabin. The gentleman finally enters and brings about the denouement by offering to kiss Mary.

These are simple plays, requiring few actors and little stage-setting. Mr. Mac Manus is direct and lucid at exposition, and his handling of tense dramatic moments is usually very good.

His characterization is ever sympathetic and apt, and the action is clear throughout. We cannot say, as we might have been led to say of another, that he seems to have caught the Irish spirit: he has known and lived the Irish life, and the very essence of his speech and of his mood is Irish.

Mr. Mac Manus's dramatic skill is shown in one of his defects. Often horse-play of one kind or another constitutes or accompanies the denouement, as in *The Lad from Largymore* where a whip is used to good effect, in *Bong Tong Come to Balriddery* where Aunt Brigid drives two Englishmen out of the house, in *Mrs. Connolly's Cashmere* at the forceful recovery of the "bequeathed" articles, and in *The Hard Hearted Man* in the "roughhouse" following the breaking open of the trunk of the "Come-home Yankee" and the discovery that it is "packed" with one shirtfront and some huge rocks. This sort of thing is not in the best of taste, of course, and yet Mr. Mac Manus carries his action along very well, makes the rough-and-tumble good-naturedly humorous, and keeps it incidental.

In a recently published book Professor Cornelius Weygandt discusses *Irish Plays and Playwrights* since the opening of the Abbey Street Theatre and remarks concerning three of the books of Mr. Mac Manus (without any mention of the plays): "When all is said you cannot admit their author to be more than a clever entertainer." Entirely aside from the fact that Professor Weygandt devotes an altogether disproportionate amount of space to "Fiona MacLeod", J. M. Synge and Mr. Yeats, we desire to take immediate issue. Mr. Mac Manus is a big figure, a far bigger figure than Professor Weygandt imagines. His writings have a social force far more powerful as an essentially *Irish* characteristic than any of the superficialities and fantasies of Professor Weygandt's favorites. If Professor Weygandt has liked the imaginative elements more than the real, fanciful pictures more than social; if Professor Weygandt is looking for the merely pleasurable rather than the Irish elements, it is his own concern. Dublin had a theatre and a stage centuries before a modern dramatic literature, typically Irish, came into existence. In it there were played many excellent pieces, which had been imported from London. Yet, no one ever thought of speaking of that as Irish drama. So

now, we will not admit that Professor Weygandt should, under the title he uses, slight the most truly Irish of all the Irish playwrights and neglect to notice the value of his pieces as social pictures, while he talks of plays by English aesthetes.

When we say that Mr. Seumas Mac Manus is, in his plays as well as in his social sketches, more than the mere entertainer which the other writer has just judged him to be, we mean that he stands for the Irish race,—its national hope and its country life. Living men and women breathe down his pages, and the cleverest wit of the Irishman is continually in evidence. Here are no such distorted figures as those in *John Bull's Other Island* by Bernard Shaw, in *The Playboy of the Western World* by J.M. Synge, or in *The Tinker's Wedding*. Mr. Mac Manus is faithful to his subjects; his tailors are tailors, his countrymen countrymen, his apprentices apprentices. In *Dinny O'Dowd*, if we wish to take an example, we find him dealing with a priest who really believes that Dinny has come back to life and is frightened at meeting him; and yet the execution of the passage is always respectful: there is no undercurrent of sneering laughter as in *The Tinker's Wedding*. This is but one comparison. Others would show the same difference, a difference due to the fact that Mr. Synge writes from without and Mr. Mac Manus from within.

If the plays of Mr. Mac Manus may be said to be of value for their social characterizations, so much more so must be his poems and prose sketches. His first volume in verse was *Schuilers from Heathy Hills*; and *Ballads of a Country Boy*, his latest, dates some years back. Of recent times he has been doing mostly prose studies. Three volumes constitute the main body of his non-dramatic prose work, *The Bend of the Road* (1898); *A Lad of the O'Friels* (1902); and *Yourself and the Neighbors* (1914). Changing moods from pathos to laughter, from sentiment to heroism, his work is ever permeated with the spirit of Donegal hillsides.

When Mr. Mac Manus strikes the lyric mood, his singing is fresh and natural: we seem to hear the bard of a race. Many are the wonder tales he himself has told by evening firesides, rollicking tales, tales of enchantment, and Irish tales handed down from of old. *Dr. Kilgannon, The Bewitched Fiddle*,

Irish Nights, Through the Turf Smoke, and The Leadin' Road to Donegal were the kind of story related by this *seanachie* to wondering auditors among the hills of Ireland. *Donegal Fairy Stories* and *In Chimney Corners* are typical of the lore of the *seanachies*; the rollicking stories of the type of *Dr. Kilgannon* are of Mr. Mac Manus's own creation. Books are very scarce in Ireland. Mr. Mac Manus has told the present writer how he got "the tradition" of a book and followed that book several times over the range of hills, as it was loaned to various persons, until at last he was able to borrow it for his own use. Histories and biographies were treasured. Tales were learned and good verse was easily memorized. *When the Nation Came* is the title of one of the studies telling how several men clubbed together to subscribe to the *Nation*; and how, after one had traveled seven miles to get it, they gathered at the house of Denis Mac Faddyen, whose daughter Ellen read the paper aloud. So precious and so prized was reading material!

The Bend of the Road and *A Lad of the O'Friel's*—anecdotes of his own boyhood and youth in the Donegal village—are very much alike, except that the sketches in the latter form a sequence of a semi-biographical nature. We have used the words "social sketches" as characterizing these pieces of work. This seems the appropriate classification. And in doing social sketches Mr. Mac Manus has had great success because he thoroughly understands the life of which he writes: he has lived it and is saturated with it. He writes with the viewpoint and the deft, sympathetic touch of one within, not as an on-looker or student. It is all stored within him, and now he is giving it forth. For seven years he was *The Masther* in a Donegal village, and then one day he turned the key in the door and came over the hills and took the boat to sail away for America. It is of himself that he has related the incidents of *Intellectual Feats by the Fireside* and *The Masther and the Bocca Fadh*. He is telling of his own boyish pranks when he writes of the doings of the followers of the Vagabone. It is of himself that he says:

"The bird in the bush and the trout in the burn, not less than the hills and the streams, were my companions, as well as the other bare-footed, gay-hearted lads of Knockagar, who ran with me when I chose.

But these latter I did not always choose; for, though they appreciated the nests of mavis and leverock and partridge I showed them, and the trout pool I discovered them, and the den of wild cherries I disclosed to them, and the tales I told them by the way, and the fiery Irish ballads I said for them—still, they were unsatisfying: they could not roam the hills for the hills' sake, and a mavis singing on the thorn, or a trout leaping in the pool, suggested to them a fine “cock-shot” above and beyond all else.”

The book is a masterpiece. We know of no better means of coming to an appreciation and love of the Irish life and the Irish people. The characterization and the description is splendid. If we never read the book again—though we shall, many times—we should never forget the wild loneliness on Glenboran; the confusion of the big Harvest Fair of Glen-ties; the charm of story-telling in the evenings; the tense excitement of the hand-ball contest; the impressive splendor of a religious pilgrimage to Lock Dearg; the rivalry and glory of the great bonfires on Midsummer's Night; and the real affection of Father Dan for his people, and his sorrows because it seems that all the boys and girls must go the road to “Amerikay.”

Mr. Mac Manus may not be really auto-biographical in *any* incident, and yet in *every* incident he gives the impression of writing of something of which he knows and of which he has had experience. With but little difficulty we yield to the impulse of our imagination, and, at the spell of his pen, seat ourselves around Tool-a-Gallagher's candle and come to know all these things even as though part of our own experience.

Yourself and the Neighbors is the title of Mr. Mac Manus's newest book. The very titles of the studies therein collected indicate the character of the book. It is a sequence again, somewhat after the fashion of the splendid *Lad of the O'Friel's*, but the mood is less imaginative and more realistic; it deals less with thoughts and ideas and dreams and more with hard actualities than a *Lad of the O'Friel's*. The separate pieces are *In Barefoot Times*, *A Day in the Bog*, *Your Courtin' Days*, *Your Wedding*, *When a Man's Married*, *The Gentle People*, *When the Tinkers Came*, *The Come-Home Yankee*, *The Masther*, and *Evening's Quiet End*. We who have been privileged to read this volume in the manuscript

venture the statement that it surpasses both his other volumes. All of it is written in the second person, a trick of the author's which gives a reality, a familiarity, and a charm from which it is not possible to escape.

What in music is called the attack, is simply irresistible in work like this. The reader is captured and put in the proper subjective mood at once, with, for instance, an opening sentence like: "Do you mind the turf cutting, the turf cutting in Donegal, the turf cutting in the lone bogs, far away, among the far hills." Another sketch begins: "From the outshoot bed just adjoining the kitchen fire—a bed that never contained less than three or more than five—you, because you had reached the careburdened age of eight, tumbled, just at the screek o' day, when your mother, the first in the house to stir, was poking last night's coals from the ashes in which they had been raked, building them on the hearth, and piling black turf around them—to make a big, roaring, blazing, fire, in which should boil the pot for your morning's stir about."

So, in simple speech, in strong sentences of Anglo-Saxon words, with few French or Latin derivatives, we are transported to the Irish soil. We fall in love, and we join "the boys", and we look into the eyes of our *cailin* and know that her soul says to us: "In Ireland all men that are men must divide their hearts between two loves." We go off to reap the Scotch Harvest; we extend our hospitality and have to entertain the Tinkers for all winter; we enjoy with delight and wonder the contests of larnin' in which *The Masther* is engaged; we glory in becoming one of the great *seanachies* of the countryside and indulging in entrancing reminiscences; we firmly believe in the Gentle Folk and would agree that "there are more neighbours at Knockagar than are on the priest's books. There is hardly a foot of ground without its fairy." What is probably the best of these sketches is the one of *The Come-Home Yankee*, with its caustic remarks of the satiric cynic, with emphasis on ties of neighbourly love, with glad welcome from each and all, with the Mother breaking down completely when she finds herself, at rosary time, asking for a prayer for Dan "wandering among strangers," when Dan is kneeling by her side.

Suffice to say that we like to think ourselves a boy in Ireland, to renew in imagination the lilt of singing birds, the charm of slanting hillsides, the enchantment of untenanted grazing lands, the glint of sun-lit roofs in the wondrous far-off Town, the delight in the swirling, dimpling trout pool, or perhaps the spell of *seanachie* tales in the gloaming, the joy in the flickering fire, the friendly interest of the neighbours, and the kindly benediction of Father Dan. This, all this, is ours for the asking.

Mr. Mac Manus wields a magic wand. He carries one across the seas and into another life with little difficulty. A person of distinct literary ability, he interprets his own personality to his reader, and thereby interprets the Irish character. His portraiture is always true and always sympathetic, and his patriotic enthusiasm is always in evidence. He knows Ireland as only an Irishman can; he knows her past and her present, her tradition and her stirring life; he knows her and he loves her; he loves her and he would serve her,—with his pen now, later with his hands, if ever there be need.

Lincoln's Interview With John B. Baldwin

WILMER L. HALL

There are historical works, bearing the stamp of authenticity, which claim for Lincoln an unwavering adherence to the policy "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government," one of the latest being F. E. Chadwick's "Causes of the Civil War" (American Nation Series). Seward's egotism, presumption, and sanguine expectation during the first month of Lincoln's administration have been used rather effectually to vindicate Lincoln of double-dealing with the Confederate government; but the attempt to show that his policy in regard to the property of the United States within the seceded states—especially Fort Sumter—was one of clear-cut, unwavering, adherence to an early decision does not meet with such general acceptance.

Lincoln had been elected by a minority of the popular vote. He had not the general support of the North, while the South accorded his administration little else but hostility. His inauguration found an established government formed by seven southern states claiming to exercise the functions of an independent government in a concerted, united, manner. The property of the United States within the seceded states had been possessed by the Confederate government, with the exception of Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Florida, Fort Sumter at Charleston, South Carolina, and a few minor posts. Fort Sumter had been an extreme irritant to South Carolina for nearly three months, and action in regard to it could not long be deferred. To effect a settlement of affairs between the two governments three commissioners had been appointed by the Confederate government to negotiate with the new administration at Washington.

The border states, Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri still remained in the Union, divided by policy, political principles and sentiment. The co-operation of these states was essential to the Confederacy and was generally regarded as indispensable to the Federal government. Virginia, by virtue of her influence, power,

and former prestige, was regarded as the deciding factor in the policy of the border states. Her legislature assembled in special session on January 7, 1861, having been called together by Governor Letcher. Provision for holding a convention was soon made, February 4 being set as the date for the election of delegates. There was a shrewd, intelligent, body of men in Virginia who generally controlled the Democratic party organization of the state. These men were inclined toward the South Carolina school of politics, secession being their remedy for southern ills. There was another body of politicians, also shrewd and intelligent, having a larger share of the wealth and brains of the state under their influence. This party was composed largely of members of the old Whig party and was Unionist in tendency. By great exertion they had carried the state for the Bell-Everett, the "Union" party, in the election of 1860. But, however these parties might differ, they were generally united upon the state-rights principles with which Virginia was so thoroughly imbued. This is shown quite clearly in the election of delegates to the convention. Unconditional Union men as well as ardent exponents of secession were, in most cases, defeated, the body being generally composed of those who sought a compromise of disagreements, additional constitutional guarantees to the South, and who were opposed to the use of coercive measures against the seceded states. Their political theories generally accorded sovereign power to the individual states.¹

On January 19, the Virginia legislature called what is known as the Peace Conference, composed of delegates from the states of the Union, to settle sectional differences. This convention assembled in Washington on February 4 and remained in session until the end of the month. The work of this conference was in vain, as the time for a compromise agreeable to both sections had long passed.

Up to this time, Lincoln had not created a favorable sentiment. His speeches en route to Washington, and general bearing, had made an unfortunate impression upon the North. His inaugural address was regarded with disfavor in the bord-

¹ See James Barbour to Seward, Feb. 8, 1861, Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward*, II., 545-47.

er states as smacking of coercion. His unfamiliarity with the problems which confronted him was manifest, and it was too much to expect decided policies of him.

The question of Fort Sumter was brought to Lincoln's immediate attention. The outgoing administration tendered, on March 5, a communication from Major Anderson, commander at Fort Sumter, dated February 28, in which he stated that he had provisions for about a month only, and gave opinions of the formidable armament necessary to relieve him.² Lincoln sought the advice of General Scott, head of the army, who informed him that the relief of the fort was impracticable. Later, Scott advised that Sumter should be evacuated. Plans were discussed, and at a cabinet meeting on March 15, Lincoln asked if it were wise to attempt to provision the fort. Five of the cabinet were against the attempt, one was for it conditionally, and only one positively in favor of it. Lincoln made no decision in regard to the matter.

At this time the Confederate commissioners in Washington were carrying on indirect negotiations with Seward and receiving full assurances of the early evacuation of Fort Sumter.³ The importance attached to the evacuation was well understood by both sides. John A. Gilmer of North Carolina who had been offered a place in the Lincoln cabinet as an overture of peace to Southern Unionists was a constant, and thoroughly informed, correspondent of Seward, and kept him posted as to Southern feeling, the necessity of avoiding any possibility of conflict, and the desire of the extreme secessionists that a clash should occur in order that the border states might be carried into secession and the independence of the Southern Confederacy assured.⁴ Seward did not lack other correspondents and agents at the South⁵ and realized the part that Fort Sumter was playing in the attitude of the border states. Both policy and necessity seemed to make evacuation inevitable. Not only did Seward assure the Confederate commissioners of such an intention upon the part of the administration, but also stated

² James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III., 325; French Ensor Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (American Nation, XIX.) 290.

³ Rhodes, *United States*, III, 328-332, 336-37; Samuel Wylie Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War*, 322-45.

⁴ John A. Gilmer to Seward, Bancroft, *Seward*, II., 545-47.

⁵ John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, III., 423.

the intention to others. To J. C. Welling, an editor of the *National Intelligencer*, he made a similar statement, with the full knowledge and consent of Lincoln, as it was claimed. This information was to be a guide to Welling as a journalist, and was joined with a request that Welling would communicate the same information to George W. Summers, a leader of the Unionists in the Virginia convention. On March 19, Summers replied to Welling, stating that this declared purpose had given the Unionists increased strength; and adding that a failure to evacuate the fort would ruin them.⁶

It is scarcely conceivable that personal interviews, cabinet meetings, and correspondence could have left Lincoln ignorant of these assurances of the evacuation of Fort Sumter. It seems that Lincoln also, for a while, considered that evacuation was necessary. Secretary Welles' declaration of Lincoln's indecision,⁷ Seward's statement to Welling, Douglas's assertion that Lincoln most positively declared that Sumter would be abandoned,⁸ John Hay's declaration that Lincoln said that he had proposed before and after his inauguration to evacuate Sumter if Southern Unionists would adjourn a certain convention,⁹ and the interview of Lincoln with Baldwin would tend to establish this point of view. It is even claimed that Lincoln had at one time signed an order for the evacuation and had approved a proof-sheet of an article which stated the fact and gave reasons for it. In this article the advice of the peacemakers was observed, the military necessity of evacuation being made the reason; and this necessity was attributed to the treachery of the Buchanan administration.¹⁰

The last two weeks of March saw a marked change in the attitude of the North. Letters and telegrams of support came to the administration; the radical Republican senators in Washington were against a supine policy, as was the West which feared for the navigation of the Mississippi; and the Northern governors were firmly behind the administration in any aggres-

⁶ J. C. Welling's account and letter of Summers, in *Nation*, XXIX., 383-384 (Dec. 4, 1879).

⁷ *Diary of Gideon Welles*, I., 9, 13.

⁸ *The Diary of a Public Man*, in *North American Review*, CXXIX, 493.

⁹ *Letters and Diaries of John Hay*, I., 47. Quoted by Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, 158.

¹⁰ Robert R. Howison, *History of the War*, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXXIV., 404; Article is printed in *Richmond Examiner*, Aug. 8, 1861.

sive mode of action. The virtual free trade policy of the South was not one which the North could view with entire equanimity. At the cabinet meeting on March 29th only two members were in favor of abandoning the fort, and three decidedly maintained that it should be relieved. At the close of the meeting the President directed that an expedition be prepared to sail as early as April 6. But he was not positively decided to send this expedition. It was to be "used or not according to circumstances."¹²

Meanwhile the secession movement in Virginia was gaining ground. The newspapers were advocating secession for economic reasons, picturing the prosperity of Virginia as the leader of the Southern Confederacy, and her degenerate position as a member of the Union;¹³ petitions advocating secession, from mass-meetings in the counties, poured into the convention;¹⁴ tremendous local pressure surrounded the convention in Richmond; the Confederate government appealed, and threatened, too, by laws which were proscriptive of Virginia's economic interests.¹⁵ Besides, secession was a popular movement and had for its ally the advantage of a moving, aggressive, force opposed to relative passivity. It was claimed that the alliance of the border states with the Confederacy would eliminate any intention of armed hostility by the government of the United States.

It was at this deciding point of the two courses of action that Lincoln's interview with Baldwin was held. The account of this interview was not published until after Lincoln's death and is derived from two main sources, John B. Baldwin, and John M. Botts.

John B. Baldwin was a native of Augusta County, Virginia. He was a lawyer of note, had been a member of the lower house of the Virginia legislature, and was elected, as a most pronounced Unionist, to the convention of 1861. He enjoyed the confidence of the people of Augusta, and was generally regarded as a man of integrity and forceful intellect.

John Minor Botts was an "old line" Whig of the Henry

¹² Rhodes, *United States*, III., 335.

¹³ *Richmond Dispatch*, April 2, 3, 9, 1861.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1861.

¹⁵ *Diary of a Public Man*, in *North American Review*, CXXIX., 494.

Clay school, a life-long adherent of Clay, and a Unionist who never wavered in his attachment. He had been a member of the lower house of the Virginia legislature from 1833 to 1839, a member of Congress for three terms—1839-1843 and 1847-1849—and a member of the Virginia constitutional convention of 1850-51. Extreme in his opinions and statements, which were not well received in Virginia, pertinacious, egotistical, and bitter, he had become very unpopular in his native state. He had been defeated for the Virginia convention of 1861.

Botts's version of the interview is found in his testimony before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, on February 15, 1866;¹⁶ in the testimony of J. F. Lewis before this committee, on February 7, 1866; and in Botts's book, "The Great Rebellion."¹⁷

Botts states that on April 5, 1861, he went to Washington, where there were a good many Virginia Unionists, all anxious that a peace policy might prevail. On April 7, he called, by appointment, on Lincoln and was with him the entire evening. His account of this interview, as relating to John B. Baldwin, is, in substance, as follows: At least a week prior to that time, Lincoln had sent for George W. Summers, who was well known to him, to come to see him on important business; and if he could not come to send some other prominent Union man. Summers could not go and sent Baldwin in his place. Baldwin was slow in getting to Washington, arriving on April 5, about a week later than he was expected. Lincoln expressed to Baldwin his regret at the delay, saying that he feared he had come too late. He had a proposition to make to try to preserve the peace of the country. However, Lincoln said, he would make it yet. There was a fleet at New York ready to sail that afternoon at five o'clock. Major Anderson had provisions for a short time only, and it was necessary to relieve him. The Virginia convention had been in session nearly two months and had done little but "shake the rod" over his (Lincoln's) head. By a vote just taken it appeared that there was a large majority against secession. Lincoln said that he was so anxious to maintain peace, and to save the border states to the Union,

¹⁶ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction at the First Session, Thirty-ninth Congress, Part II., 114-119.

¹⁷ John M. Botts, *The Great Rebellion*, 194-202.

that if the Union men would adjourn the convention without passing an ordinance of secession, he would telegraph at once to New York, arrest the sailing of the fleet, and take the responsibility of evacuating Fort Sumter. Baldwin would not consider this proposition to adjourn the convention *sine die* and scarcely treated Lincoln with civility. Botts said that he asked permission to present this same proposition to the Union men of the convention, but Lincoln stated that it was too late as the fleet had sailed on Friday, April 5.

Botts states that Lincoln did not want him to make public this proposition at that time, but that he mentioned it privately to several friends when he returned to Richmond. One of these, John F. Lewis, of Rockingham County, could scarcely credit it and asked and obtained permission to mention it to Baldwin. The next day, April 17, he took Baldwin to Bott's house where this proposition was stated. Baldwin did not deny it, but excused himself from an explanation then on account of pressing business in the convention. Lewis bore out this statement in his testimony before the Reconstruction Committee,¹⁸ but his testimony being given before Baldwin's denial of the substance of the interview, he did not enter into the matter fully. Later on he furnished Botts with letters in which he asserted that Baldwin admitted the proposition in his presence, and also hinted that Baldwin had mentioned it privately to a few friends in the convention, all of whom had kept the matter secret.

Baldwin's version of this interview is given in his testimony before the Reconstruction Committee, on February 10, 1866; in his direct denial of Botts's account, published in the *Richmond Whig*, June 27, 1866; and in R. L. Dabney's account in the Southern Historical Society Papers.¹⁹ Some details of his version are substantiated by Allan B. Magruder, who served as Lincoln's messenger to Richmond.²⁰

Magruder, a Virginian, who was a lawyer practicing in Washington, states that he was requested, on April 2, 1861, to undertake this mission to Richmond. He communicated with Summers, and returned to Washington with Baldwin, on

¹⁸ *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, Part II., 71.

¹⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I., 443-455.

²⁰ *The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1875; *Richmond Whig*, June 27, 1866.

April 3. On April 4 he escorted Baldwin to Seward and introduced him. Baldwin was Magruder's guest while in Washington, and Magruder considered that he enjoyed Baldwin's confidence, the latter talking to him freely about his interview with Lincoln.

Baldwin says that he was selected by Summers and some other Union men because he was little known in Washington, and possessed the confidence of the Union men in the convention. He set out with Magruder at once—April 3—and was taken to Seward on the morning of April 4. Seward took him to the President at once. As soon as Lincoln was disengaged Seward introduced Baldwin, and Lincoln took him to a room where they could talk privately. Lincoln immediately told him that he feared he had come too late,—that he wished he could have been there several days before. Baldwin asked him "too late for what?", but received no explanation. He reminded Lincoln that it was impossible that he could have come any quicker. Lincoln then wanted to know why the Union men did not adjourn the Virginia convention, as it was a menace to him and placed him in an awkward position. Baldwin proceeded to show Lincoln that adjournment was inadvisable, that the convention was controlled by Union men, and indicated to Lincoln how necessary it was that he should show the South that he would protect their interests. He advised Lincoln to withdraw the forces from southern forts in order to indicate his peaceful intentions, and to call a national convention to settle the troubles of the country. Lincoln said something about withdrawing the troops from Sumter on the ground of military necessity; and also spoke of feeding the force there. Baldwin advised him not to attempt to provision the fort, and to admit the southern claim to the fort by evacuation. Lincoln was much concerned about the effect of the southern low tariff upon the northern protective policy. Baldwin saw that Lincoln had decided upon a coercive policy and assured him emphatically and fully that it was no "game of brag" upon the part of the South, and that they were on the verge of a great war which would come when the first blow was struck.

Baldwin stated that the version which was given by Botts was wrong,—that Lincoln made no promise nor offering of

any sort. He was watchful for any basis of compromise and, while he would not have considered practicable the adjournment, *sine die*, of the Virginia convention in return for the evacuation of Sumter, he would have seized upon this as a basis for negotiation.²¹

On analyzing these two statements it becomes clear that there are several discrepancies and inaccuracies in Botts's account. He confused his conversation with Lincoln, on April 7, with his account of Lincoln's interview with Baldwin. In his evidence before the Reconstruction Committee he stated that Lincoln told Baldwin that a messenger had been despatched to Governor Pickens of South Carolina, informing him of the relief expedition being sent to Sumter.²² This messenger was not sent until April 6. It will also be noticed that there was no intention to send the fleet from New York on April 5, but on April 6.²³ Baldwin's interview with Lincoln took place on April 4 and not on April 5. The journal of the Virginia convention indicates his absence on April 4 and his presence on April 5.²⁴ This being the case Lincoln could not have mentioned the vote on secession in the convention which took place on April 4, at the evening session,²⁵ after the interview had taken place. On the other hand, Botts, while proverbially over-confident in his statement, viewing matters always from his own strongly biased point of view, generally had a basis for his assertions; and his emphatic statement, his charge to Baldwin at his house on April 17, and his attempted corroborative proof through John F. Lewis and others indicate that he was sincere in the belief that Lincoln had made the proposition to Baldwin as stated by him. Lewis's subsequent course as a thorough-going Unionist places him under a similar charge of bias.

There are no glaring discrepancies in Baldwin's statements. He and Magruder agree that it was April 3 that this mission to Washington was undertaken, and there is no good reason to reject Magruder's assertion that he undertook the visit to Richmond, by the request of Lincoln, on April 2. Baldwin

²¹ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., 105.

²² Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, 114.

²³ Rhodes, United States, III., 335, 337-38.

²⁴ Journal of the Convention of Virginia, 1861. Appendix. Journal of the Committee of the Whole, 32 seq.

²⁵ Ibid, 32-33; Richmond Examiner, April 5, 1861; Richmond Whig, June 27, 1866.

related some conversation with Lincoln in reference to Fort Sumter, and here his testimony was not unequivocal as to Lincoln's proposition of evacuation. He said that if Lincoln had stated that such a proposition was made he would be bound to concede it, though it never occurred to him then that such a proposition was made.²⁶

Botts wished to show that Baldwin suppressed a true account of this interview to further secession and to claim personal reward and advancement under an established Confederacy of which Virginia should be a member.²⁷ This appears to be unjust to Baldwin who, though siding actively with the Confederacy after the secession of Virginia, bore previously the hearty denunciation of secession papers for his Union position,²⁸ and who voted at last against the ordinance of secession.

There are not lacking assertions that Lincoln stated to others that a proposition to evacuate Sumter had been made to Baldwin, but these statements are unauthenticated.²⁹

From the existing evidence we can safely conclude that Baldwin was summoned to Washington to receive some proposition; that he had an interview with Lincoln on April 4; and that for certain reasons it was *too late* to make the proposition. Everything considered, it is rather difficult to reject the conclusion that this proposition was based upon the evacuation of Fort Sumter in its bearing upon the Virginia convention and the attitude of the border states. It seems that Lincoln's course of indecision had suddenly given place to a policy of decision, yielding to the positive support of the northern governors, which was personally tendered him at this time,³⁰ and to the immense pressure in general which urged determined measures. It is probable that he stated to Baldwin, partially and guardedly, and to Botts, more freely, *the proposition which was to have been made*.

It was on April 4 that Lincoln gave a definite order for the fleet to sail for the relief of Fort Sumter.

²⁶ Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., 106.

²⁷ Botts, Great Rebellion, 200.

²⁸ Richmond Examiner, April 8, 1861.

²⁹ See Botts, Great Rebellion, 200-201; Crawford, Genesis of the Civil War, 311.

³⁰ Ibid., 340; Southern Historical Society Papers, I., 453; Rhodes, United States, III., 346 n.; Richmond Whig, June 27, 1866.

The Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund

WILLIAM K. BOYD

Professor of History in Trinity College

Concerning no phase of southern life are there more general misconceptions than the origins of public education. The structure of society prior to the war was aristocratic, often concealing a really democratic spirit. The principle of public education was not clearly and definitely written in the fundamental law of the southern states until the reconstruction constitutions, and the same may be said of the methods by which the schools of today are organized and administered. Hence the conclusion is quite prevalent that public education in the south is the product of reconstruction. "As for free public schools," says one writer, "not a single southern state had organized and put in operation a system before the civil war."¹

On the contrary, the truth is that each of the states that adopted the policy of secession had prior to 1860 some system of common schools. South Carolina made direct appropriations for schools. The other ten states had funds or endowments for public education whose income was supplemented by local taxation in North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia and by a general state tax in Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas, while Tennessee and Virginia also levied poll taxes. There is a tradition that these schools were "poor schools", open without tuition only to pauper children. Such a conception of the nature of free education at public expense was very common in the early days of the public school idea, but it was actually applied only in Georgia and South Carolina.

Of the *ante bellum* school systems that of North Carolina was typical. The pioneers who conceived and fostered the idea believed that only pauper children should be educated free, those who framed the first school law made no such restriction. The revenue of the schools was derived from an

¹ Hart, *Southern South*, p. 289.

endowment created by the state and by local taxation. In 1860 the average school term was four months, not equalled in the educational history of the state after the war until 1900; the number of children enrolled was 116,567, the number of schools was 2,854, and the number of teachers 2,479, a large majority of whom were men.

The dawn of the ideal of public education in North Carolina is notable. As early as 1754 £6,000 in bills of credit were emitted by the colonial assembly for the foundation of "a public school or seminary" to which George Vaughn, a London merchant, agreed to contribute £1,000 per annum.² However, during the crisis of the French and Indian war the money voted was used for military purposes, and after the close of hostilities it was not restored, although Governor Dobbs advised the British authorities to allow a re-issue of bills of credit for that purpose.³

The first great victory of the sentiment for public education was made in the constitution of 1776 which declares in article 41 that "a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices, and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged, and promoted, in one or more universities." This article was copied verbatim from the constitution of Pennsylvania. In partial keeping with its provisions the University of North Carolina was founded in 1795, but for many years no step was taken toward establishing schools of lower rank. One cause of this failure to carry out the mandate regarding elementary education was its uncertain terms. Some interpreted it to mean that public schools should be created by the legislature, others believed that its intent was to lend aid to existing academies, or to found new ones. Indeed a large number of bills for aid to academies was introduced in the legislature, but none of them ever became law.⁴ Other conditions that retarded the foundation of a system of schools were the slender finances, the intense sense of individualism that opposed any increase in taxation or any enlargement in

² *Laws 1754 ch. 1, sect. 12; Col. Records V, 144b.*

³ *Col. Records, V, VI passim; VI, 1035-37.*

⁴ Coon, *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina to 1840*; Vol. 1, pp. XXII-XXIV; 14, 25, 28, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50.

the sphere of state activity, the sectional controversy between the eastern and the western counties, and the low standard of the teaching profession itself.⁵

In 1815, the year in which state aid to internal improvement was adopted, the first legislative committee on education was appointed.⁶ The following year Archibald De Bow Murphy, member of a second legislative committee on education, submitted a report which thoroughly elaborated the theory and the necessity of public education in a democracy.⁷ The only result was the appointment of a committee to "digest a system of public instruction". Its report (submitted at the next session) made two recommendations: one, for state aid to the education of teachers, on the ground that an increase in the number of teachers would increase competition and thereby reduce the rate of tuition; the other, for the education at public expense of those children whose parents were unable to pay for their instruction.⁸ The most significant utterance was again a report of Mr. Murphy, in which a system of public instruction consisting of grammar schools, academies, and a university was outlined, together with a fund for educational purposes, a central board of education, a scheme of studies, education of the poor at public expense, and an asylum for the deaf and dumb.⁹ A bill was introduced in each house to carry into effect Mr. Murphy's plan. It passed one reading and then disappears from the records. Finally, in 1825, a "fund for the support of common schools" was established, known as the Literary Fund. A consideration of its origin and growth, the administration of its income, and its unfortunate destruction is the purpose of this paper.

I. 1825-1836.

The condition of North Carolina when the Literary Fund was established was peculiar. A general feeling of depression pervaded the papers and speeches of all public spirited men. The rank among the states in population declined from third in 1790 to fourth in 1800, to fifth in 1830. The value

⁵ Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. XI, XII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁷ Coon, *op. cit.*, vol. I., 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-110.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-164.

of lands in 1833 was less than that in 1815 although more than 1,000,000 acres had been entered. Slaves increased faster than whites prior to 1830. The lack of convenient markets stifled trade. Charleston, South Carolina, and the cities of the Virginia tidewater section and Philadelphia were commercial centres for North Carolina farmers and merchants, affording a basis in fact for the characterization of the state as a "Valley of Despair between two mountains of Conceit". Thousands left the state of their nativity to seek better opportunities in the northwest or the far south.

Men of public spirit desired to inaugurate some policy that would offset the lethargy and decay around them. Under normal conditions they could accomplish nothing, for taxes and expenditure were meagre, and there was among the people a deep aversion to any increase of taxation. However, certain extraordinary sources of income were found between 1815 and 1825. One of these was the sales of lands vacated by the Cherokee Indians through federal treaties of 1817 and 1819. The income derived from the sale of these lands was applied to internal improvements, the construction of canals, roads, and the improvement of navigation in 1819.¹⁰ The other source of revenue was dividends from stock held by the state in the Bank of the Cape Fear, the Bank of Newbern, and the State Bank of North Carolina, the first two corporations having been chartered by the legislature in 1804, the last one in 1810. The power of the banks under these charters to issue notes was liberal, leading to inflation and speculation. The state became involved in this policy, the legislature granting new charters with enlarged capital to the Newbern and Cape Fear banks in 1814, subscribing 1,000 shares in each. Of these shares 180 in each bank were a bonus, while the remaining shares subscribed were paid for with State treasury notes. By 1821 the state held 1304 shares in the Bank of Newbern, 1250 in the Bank of the Cape Fear, and 250 in the State Bank. The dividends from the first two were appropriated to the cause of internal improvements, those from the last to the redemption of the state currency issued in 1783 and 1785.¹¹

¹⁰ *Laws*, 1819, ch. 2.

¹¹ *Laws*, 1821, ch. 6; 1810 ch. 5.

Northern banks and the Second Bank of the United States demanded the redemption of the notes issued by the banks in specie, a demand which did not cease with the suspension of specie payments in 1819. The banks were hard pressed and turned to the legislature for assistance. In 1821 the State Treasurer purchased with the surplus money in the Treasury 153 shares of State Bank stock, 53 shares of the Bank of Newbern, and 108 of the Bank of the Cape Fear. Of these stocks those of the Bank of Newbern and of the Cape Fear were appropriated to the Fund for Internal Improvement. In 1823 further aid was given to banks by the issue of state treasury notes to the amount of \$100,000 which were invested in their stock, 24 shares of the State Bank being purchased, 330 of the Bank of Newbern, and 680 of the Bank of the Cape Fear.

The dividends from this last stock investment were not necessary for the regular expenses of government, and internal improvements had already received substantial aid. Consequently the shares in the Cape Fear and Newbern banks were appropriated to the cause of education, with the provision that similar disposition be made of shares purchased in the future.¹² In addition the income from five other sources was also utilized; viz, dividends from the stock held by the state in the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Roanoke Navigation Company, and the Club Foot and Harlow's Creek Canal; license taxes paid by the retailers of liquors and auctioneers; the unexpended balance of the Agricultural Fund, a small fund established in 1822; income from the sales of vacant and unappropriated swamp lands, and \$21,090 due from the Federal Government for aid in removing the Cherokees. Thus was constituted the Literary Fund. Its administration was placed in charge of three trustees, the Governor and the Speakers of the House of Commons and of the Senate.¹³

The income from the sources of revenue thus set aside for education was not sufficient to inaugurate a system of schools. It was therefore re-invested by the trustees, thus creating a large principal, the interest from which was finally used for educational purposes. This was the distinguish-

¹² *Laws*, 1825, ch. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*

ing characteristic of state support of public schools in North Carolina prior to 1860; it was derived from an endowment, rather than from direct state taxation.

Prior to 1836 the Literary Fund suffered several misfortunes. First of these was a temporary loss occasioned by the defalcation of Treasurer Haywood. In November 1827 the free balance to the credit of the Fund was \$28,201.82 1-2, but an investigation of the Treasurer's records—that officer having recently died—showed that all of this except \$17.50 which had never been turned over to him had been lost. However, in 1831 by order of the legislature \$28,184.32 1-2 with interest was returned to the Fund, the total amount being \$29,074.96.¹⁴ Another misfortune was a decline in the dividends from the bank stocks. In 1827 the Fund held as a result of the act of 1825, 359 shares in the Bank of Newbern and 704 shares in the Bank of the Cape Fear, 29 shares in the Bank of Newbern and 34 in the Bank of the Cape Fear having been advanced by the State since 1825. The rate of dividends was at that time 3 per cent. semi-annually by the Bank of the Cape Fear and 4 per cent. by the Bank of Newbern. Among the first investments by the Trustees was the purchase of 78 shares in the State Bank in 1827, the very year in which the dividends dropped from 4 per cent. semi-annually to 3 1-2 semi-annually. In 1828, although the dividends of all the banks had declined, 204 shares of the State Bank were bought at \$90 per share, 50 shares in the Bank of the Cape Fear at \$80, and 141 in the Bank of Newbern at \$80. The same year the State Bank paid only one dividend of 2 1-2 per cent, then yielded one of 3 per cent. in 1829, and from 1830 to liquidation only 2 per cent. semi-annually. The Bank of the Cape Fear reduced its dividend in 1828 to 2 per cent. semi-annually, passed one dividend in 1829, both in 1830, then paid one of 3 per cent. in 1831, and passed all until re-organization in 1835. The Bank of Newbern also dropped to a 2 per cent. basis in 1828, passed one dividend in 1829, one in 1830, then paid one of 3 per cent. in 1831, and thereafter passed all until liquidation.¹⁵

¹⁴ Report of the Comptroller, 1831.

¹⁵ Report of the Comptroller, *passim*.

The investment of public funds such as the Literary Fund in securities of declining value would today be regarded as a violation of a trust. However, the banks were quasi-state institutions; they were being hard pressed to meet their obligations to pay in specie, notably by the Second Bank of the United States; and there was naturally a strong feeling that state funds should support state institutions. Fortunately the loss from the money actually invested by the trustees was small, the State Bank and the Bank of Newbern paying at liquidation \$38,803, whereas \$41,440 had been paid for shares in these institutions by the trustees of the Fund. On the other hand the capital dividends on the stock in these banks appropriated to the Literary Fund by the legislature were applied to the general expenses of the government. Yet with such experience in the past, one of the principal investments of the Literary Fund after its re-organization in 1836 was in bank stock. Fortunately the experience with the investment was more satisfactory.

The other sources of revenue presented no specific problems. The sales of vacant lands up to 1836 amounted to \$55,133.73; license taxes, \$31,371.68; auction tax, \$6,513.98; agricultural fund balances, \$10,962.82; the Cape Fear Navigation Company dividends, \$4,484.34; the Roanoke Navigation Company dividends, \$2,250.14; premium on exchange of \$12,000 United States notes, \$1,100; from the United States Government for money advanced for the removal of Cherokee Indians, \$22,000; miscellanies, \$6,083.60. These with the bank dividends of \$102,341.06 and a correction of \$915.96 made a total of \$243,162.83. There were expended \$239,317.83, all of which except \$5.50 was for bank stock, leaving a cash balance of \$3,845.09.¹⁶

II. 1836-1860.

The year 1836 was a landmark in the history of the Literary Fund. Its principal was increased, its income consequently expanded, and the trustees who administered the Fund had quite an influence in the public finances of the State. The cause of this enlargement of the Fund was the distribu-

¹⁶ These totals have been computed from the reports made by the Treasurer, the Comptroller, and the Literary Board.

tion of the surplus revenue in the Treasury of the United States among the States, most of North Carolina's share (\$1,-433,757.40) being applied directly or indirectly to public education. The actual use of this large sum was influenced by the political and financial conditions in the state, which require some consideration.

Three issues besides an interest in education, determined the disposal of North Carolina's share of the surplus revenue. One of these was that of internal improvements. Various experiments in state aid to canals, the navigation of rivers, and the construction of roads had proved unprofitable. But the need of better transportation facilities was still imperative. By 1830 the era of railroads was at hand, but there was not sufficient private capital for any extensive railway construction; hence a demand for state aid. There were also large tracts of undeveloped swamp lands in the eastern counties which promised to be productive and profitable if drained. State support of either of these enterprises seemed impossible on account of a lack of available funds, bond issues being a species of finance undreamed of at that time. A second influence in determining the use of the surplus was a political change. There had been a long rivalry and conflict of interests between the eastern and western counties over constitutional reforms, especially the revision of representation, which had overshadowed all other issues for fifteen years. In 1835 the reforms so long agitated were effected and a more liberal era opened in political life. A nation-wide division in political party likewise took place, the Whig and Democratic parties replacing the old Republican party between 1832 and 1836. The North Carolina Whigs endorsed the policy of state aid to internal improvements and elected Edward B. Dudley governor in 1836. Here was a party committed to a policy of larger expenditures on the part of the State for public causes. A third influence which shaped the expenditure of the federal surplus was the condition of the Treasury. For several years prior to 1836 the expenses had exceeded the revenue, diminishing the balance accumulated during years of frugality. In 1836 \$375,000 of a subscription by the state to the newly organized Bank of the State of North Carolina fell

due, but the amount in the Treasury at the beginning of the fiscal year was \$46,856, the estimated revenue was around \$200,000, and the normal expenditure approximately the same. To meet the crisis the Treasurer was authorized to issue "certificates binding the state for the payment of the money purporting to be due thereon, to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, and no more," bearing interest at 5 per cent., redeemable in 1860, secured by the state's stock in the Bank of the State of North Carolina. The certificates were accordingly issued; they were disposed of in two subscriptions, one by the University of North Carolina amounting to \$100,000, the other of \$300,000 being made by no less an authority than the Treasurer of the United States.

Such were the general financial, political and economic conditions when the federal surplus was distributed: a demand for state aid to railroads and the drainage of swamp lands, a debt of \$400,000, a Literary Fund too small to support a system of schools, and a political party pledged to the cause of domestic progress. North Carolina's share in the distribution of 1838 was \$1,433,757.40. The problem was to make it of use in meeting each of these conditions described.

A joint committee of both houses, whose chairman was William A. Graham, Whig, recommended that \$900,000 be appropriated to the Literary Fund and the remainder to internal improvement. Here was an excellent example of the Whig program of progress; the state debt should be allowed to run its course, while the entire fund from the surplus should be devoted to economic and social needs. The opposition, led by William H. Haywood, Democrat, proposed that all the special funds held by the state except the bonds given from the sale of Cherokee lands should be lumped together for four purposes: the redemption of the state debt, increase of the Literary Fund and the Fund for Internal Improvement, the drainage of the swamp lands, and the construction of railways. Thus the Whig program of progress was linked with the Democratic policy of economy by providing for the extinction of the state debt. The principle rather than the details of Mr. Haywood's report was adopted. Accordingly \$300,000 of the surplus revenue was applied to the redemp-

tion of the certificates held by the Treasurer of the United States, and \$100,000 of stock in the Bank of the state was exchanged for the certificates purchased by the University. Of the remainder, \$500,000 was appropriated to the Literary Fund with the provision that \$300,000 be invested in stock of the Bank of the Cape Fear and \$200,000 be used in the drainage of the swamp lands, \$100,000 was appropriated for the current expenses of the government, and the remaining \$533,757.39 was appropriated to the Fund for Internal Improvement.

Nor was the \$500,000 thus specified the only addition to the Literary Fund. At the same legislative session that thus disposed of the surplus, there were added to the fund 4,000 shares held by the state in the Bank of the State of North Carolina, the stock owned by the state in railroads, the income from loans made by the Boards of Internal Improvement, proceeds from the sales of swamp lands, and 3,000 shares held by the state in the Bank of the Cape Fear, above those purchased by the Fund. Of these additional securities the railroad stock formed the largest item, for the sum of \$600,000 was invested in stock of the Wilmington and Raleigh, later known as the Wilmington and Weldon, Railroad.

Thus to the principal of the Literary Fund was added \$1,-700,000.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

The Shape of the First London Theatre

T. S. GRAVES

Assistant Professor of English in Trinity College.

Owing largely to the facts that the Globe, constructed from the materials of the Theatre, was circular in shape and that De Witt used the word *amphiteatra* as well as *theatrorum* in referring to the four theatres existing in London about 1596, students have generally assumed that the first London playhouse was round. Mrs. Stopes, for example, in her recent book (*Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 20) remarks: "His [Burbage's] old inn-yards gave him suggestions as to enclosures and galleries, but he did not follow them in shape, making his building round." It is an open question as to how much Burbage got from the old inn-yards, but evidence sufficient to show that the Theatre was probably not round may be had among the large number of documents regarding that building which Professor C. W. Wallace has recently published in his *The First London Theatre*.

Since the evidence does not seem to have been pointed out specifically, it may be briefly set forth. In several of the numerous legal documents connected with Burbage's second lease of the playhouse, it is brought out that some of his opponents, apparently using the word "tenement" in the restricted sense of tenement building, urged that Burbage had agreed to use the Theatre as a playhouse for only five of the twenty-one years specified in the lease and then "converte" it into "tene-ments" or "upon reparacions of the other houses" on the premises (pp. 216, 221). Now it is difficult to see how a round structure could have been easily converted into a tenement building, though of course Burbage's adversaries may well have meant that the playhouse was to be torn down at the end of five years and the timbers used in the construction of tene-ments.

Of more significance is another fact. Situated a few feet from the Theatre was a "greate longe Barne" eighty feet in length and in a very dilapidated state. In the testimony of various witnesses it is brought out that, in order to strengthen

the old structure, Burbage had shored it “ upp unto the playhouse called the Theater;” and one Thomas Bromfield testified that “ he rememberethe the same Barne was shored uppe with twoe or three shores from the Playhouse Called the Theater ” (p. 231). The great length of the barn and the use of two or three shores indicate that the old building was propped, not against a curved surface, but against a flat one.

Again, in 1600, Henry Johnson testified that when he charged Richard Burbage, Thomas Smith and Peter Street, who were engaged in tearing down the Theatre, to stop their illegal procedure, they replied that they were merely taking down the structure in order to set it up again “ in an other forme ” on the same premises. And for the purpose of “ Colloringe there deceipte,” as Johnson put it, they asserted that they had “ Couenanted with the Carpenter to that effecte and Shewed this deponnt the decayes about the same as yt stooede there ” (p. 222). Apparently Burbage and his companions colored their “ deceipte ” well; for quite naturally onlookers would believe that since the other theatres in London—Curtain, Rose, Swan—were circular, the owner of the Theatre wished to transform it into a more modern and convenient form. Really after all it is questionable to what extent Burbage and his fellows actually lied; for they had no doubt “ covenanted ” with the carpenters to set up as soon as possible the Theatre “ in an other forme,”—not on the premises, however, but on the Bankside. And if Shakespeare’s *Henry V* was, as many believe, the first drama presented at the Globe, then the “ wooden O ” of the prologue is an entirely natural and appropriate “ conceit ” to be uttered on the occasion of a first performance at the old Theatre reconstructed “ in an other forme.”

In a recent publication (*The Court and the London Theatres During the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 39) I asserted, with special reference to the first London playhouse, that the term “ yard,” said to have been carried over into the theatre from the inn-yard, is “ virtually the inevitable term to be applied to a ground space closed in on four sides.” In the *Errata* “ four sides ” has given place to “ all sides.” The statement as a whole may be questionable, but the original is probably nearer the truth than the revision.

Now it may possibly seem strange to some that so much space should be given to the consideration of the question whether the first London playhouse was round or rectangular. But the shape of the first London theatre is more than a trivial archaeological detail; it has a vital bearing upon various problems connected with the staging of Shakespeare's plays. If, for example, the theatre was square or rectangular, that fact is strong evidence against supposing that the structure was intended for the baiting of bears and bulls as well as for fencing matches and presentation of plays; and if it is established that the early playhouses were never used as places for the baiting of animals, then there is no reason for supposing, as is usually done, that the stages in these houses were removable. And finally, if we could be sure that the platforms of Elizabethan theatres were regularly fixed, that fact would aid materially in determining the nature, and perhaps the function, of the "heavens," the "hell," and the stage-doors of the Shakespearian playhouse.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LETTERS OF RICHARD HENRY LEE. Collected and edited by James Curtis Ballagh. Vol. II. Published under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914, xxiii, 608 pp. \$2.50 net.

This volume completes the correspondence of one of the foremost men of his generation. It contains 290 letters written during terms in the Virginia legislature, the Continental Congress and the Senate of the United States, and also during Lee's retirement from public life. Information is given concerning many problems before the country from 1779 to 1794, such as foreign affairs, the situation in Virginia during the British invasion, the standards of public morality, and economic conditions. Most valuable are the letters reflecting Lee's attitude toward nationalistic tendencies. He worked for the cession of Virginia lands in the northwest to Congress, believing that these would liquidate the national debt. He favored revision of the Articles of Confederation by apportioning representation according to population and by conferring on Congress control of the currency; but he was opposed to the four per cent impost and the regulation of interstate commerce by Congress, feeling that discrimination against the South would thereby result. He did not oppose the reform movement which brought about the Philadelphia convention; but he declined membership in that body on the ground that it would be inconsistent with his duty, as a member of Congress, of passing upon the work of the convention. He favored ratification provided certain amendments were made, his criticism of the instrument being that personal liberty was not sufficiently guaranteed and that the powers conferred upon the President and the Senate created an oligarchy. His reason for not being a member of the Virginia convention which ratified the constitution was that the climate of Richmond did not agree with him.

Extremely interesting are his opinions of some of his contemporaries. In Franklin he had no confidence. "How long, my dear friend, must the dignity, honor and interest of the

United States be sacrificed to the bad passions of that old man under the idea of his being a philosopher." On the other hand he had profound admiration for the Adamses. It is also interesting to note that one of his republican proclivities thoroughly misunderstood the French revolution.

The letters have been collected from many sources, printed and manuscript. The type and mechanical work are excellent. The editorial notes are few, the editor following the English rather than the German ideal of an editor's duties.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

THE FALL OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC. By Hendrik Willem van Loon.
With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin
Company, 1913—xiv, 433 pp. \$3.00 net.

The author of this book is a native of Holland, who has been a student in both Harvard and Cornell and who has received a doctor's degree from the University of Munich for work done in history. At present he is the American correspondent of the Amsterdam *Handelsblad*. Finding, as he tells us, that, "out of a hundred interested inquirers, ninety-nine had none but the vaguest conception of the adventures of the Dutch Republic from the moment it had ceased to be chronicled by the Great American Historian", Mr. van Loon has undertaken to tell in a brief and interesting manner "the story of the main events which brought about the ruin of the old Dutch Republic." Although he has enumerated other sources in his bibliography, it would seem from the author's footnotes that he has done little more than popularize and put into English selections which he has made from the work of Dutch historians who have studied this phase of the history of their native country. However, he has noted his indebtedness to these standard authorities.

Had Mr. van Loon been successful in the task which he set for himself, namely, writing for general readers a history of the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century, he would have filled a gap in English historical literature and have rendered a real service. His readable book falls considerably short of satisfactory achievement. Though it is not less interesting

because of the fact that the personality of the author obtrudes itself in every chapter, this characteristic cannot be said to enhance its value as an historical work. Again, the style of his narrative and the character of many of his conclusions would have betrayed the profession of the author had we not known it in advance. The result is that we are not always certain that his cocksure generalizations are to be depended on, and his gift for epigrammatic statement frequently tempts him beyond the limits permissible to a prudent historian. Moreover, although Mr. van Loon makes no attempt to conceal his antipathies toward either persons or nations, they are much too numerous to make his conclusions as credible as they ought to be in a work of this kind. Perhaps not much can be said in favor of the representatives of the house of Orange who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century or of the prominent Dutch officials who shared with them the task of governing the Republic, though the difficulties that confronted them ought to receive due consideration. However, Mr. van Loon's hostility to France and his partiality for England are less excusable. And there is no excuse for his apparent lack of knowledge concerning the part England played in the negotiations that preceded the Prussian intervention and the outbreak of the war with France in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. van Loon confesses in the outset that "for the better part of his life" he has not "been familiar with the intricacies and peculiarities of that curious institution known as the English language." The book abounds with expressions which bear testimony to the truth of that statement, such, for example, as the use of "chicken-breasted" for "chicken-hearted" and the habitual use of "wood" for "lumber".

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

CORPORATE PROMOTIONS AND REORGANIZATIONS. By Arthur Stone Dewing. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. x. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1914.—ix, 616 pp. \$2.50.

This valuable volume is a study from original sources of the promotion and financial policy of fourteen large industrial consolidations which have in the course of their history found

it necessary to undergo a process of reorganization. Among the corporations considered are the United States Leather Company, The Corn Products Refining Company, The Westinghouse Electric Company, The National Salt Company, The American Bicycle Company, and The United States Shipbuilding Company. In the narrative portions of Dr. Dewing's book no generalizations are introduced, but in three closing chapters the attempt has been made to present conclusions concerning promotions, the causes of financial failure, the events leading up to re-organization, and finally the re-organizations themselves.

A wealth of detail has been brought together by the author, and much new light is thrown upon the history of many of the corporations discussed. An instance of this is shown in the story of the promotion and later history of the United States Shipbuilding Company. At the time of the collapse of this consolidation Mr. Charles M. Schwab was subject to severe condemnation for the exacting terms of the bargain under which the Bethlehem Steel Company had been included. The criticism of Mr. Schwab was largely based on the report of the receiver, James Smith, Jr. This report, Dr. Dewing says, was largely the work of Samuel Untermyer, and sought to place upon Mr. Schwab blame for the failure of the shipbuilding enterprise. Dr. Dewing thinks that the unfavorable judgment formed on the basis of the report should be modified, and that Schwab was entitled, in view of the great earning capacity of the Bethlehem Company, to make the terms he did in order to protect his interests in case of a collapse. Receiver Smith's report is considered to be unfair and the impression produced by it to be unjust.

In view of the fact that measures for trust regulation are now under consideration in Congress, the opinions formed by Dr. Dewing, after his exhaustive investigation of many unsuccessful corporations, are worthy of thoughtful consideration. He says: "I have been impressed throughout by the powerlessness of mere aggregates of capital to hold monopoly; I have been impressed, too, by the tremendous importance of individual, innate ability, or its lack, in determining the success or failure of any enterprise. With these observations in mind,

one may hazard the belief that whatever trust problem exists will work out its own solution. The doom of the inefficient waits on no legislative regulation. It is rather delayed thereby. Restrictive regulation will perpetuate the inefficient corporation by furnishing an artificial prop to support natural weakness; it will hamper the efficient by impeding the free play of personal ambition." This goes contrary to widely prevailing views of the day, but the scholarly study upon which the opinion is based entitles it to considerate attention.

SHORT PLAYS. By Mary Macmillan. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1913, 245 pp.

THE GIFT. By Margaret Douglas Rogers. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1913, 47 pp.

Among the many unmistakable signs that a widespread and wholesome interest in good drama has awakened in our country is the publication by the Stewart and Kidd Company of Mary Macmillan's "Short Plays". These plays were written primarily for a woman's club that wished to give plays but could find nothing that just suited its purpose. The fact that the taste of these women was so excellent and their demand for something really good was so strong made possible and probable the production of work thoroughly creditable and praiseworthy. With similar clubs all over the land cultivating good taste and stimulating a demand for its gratification, the volume of "Short Plays" by Miss Macmillan is, we hope and believe, but a prophecy of what we are soon to have.

Miss Macmillan has unusual ability as a writer of dialogue, and she is also skillful in the handling of plot. Not one of the ten plays lacks interest, and each shows evidence of originality and promise. With practice she will develop more power in character delineation. The reviewer hopes that she will continue to write plays and that she will before long attempt something on a larger scale. In the meanwhile, her published plays are heartily commended to both professional and amateur actors.

The same publishers have brought out, likewise in most attractive form, a short poetic drama by Margaret Douglas Rogers. "The Gift" is a love story prettily told in verse dialogue and treats in a new way the old mythical story of Pandora, the first woman. The writer has unmistakable gifts and should further use them.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

THE TARIFF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By F. W. Taussig. Sixth edition. Revised and enlarged. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914, xi, 465 pp. \$1.75 net.

The public will welcome this new edition of Professor Taussig's well known work which brings his account of the tariff through the act of 1913. His closing chapter on the new tariff law occupies some forty pages. Professor Taussig believes that the industrial consequences of protective duties are commonly exaggerated in popular discussion. Although he finds that the act of 1913 makes the greatest change in our tariff system since the civil war, he says: "The new tariff will cause no disaster, and it will work no wonders; but we may hope that in the long run it will brace and strengthen the country's industries, and make it easier to frame future duties without log-rolling or manipulation."

The new chapter makes Professor Taussig's work complete as to the history of the tariff since the beginning of our government. Since the publication of the first edition, this history of the tariff has been a standard authority, fair and judicious in tone. In the latest revision it is almost indispensable for the libraries of economists and public men.

THEY WHO KNOCK AT OUR GATES. A COMPLETE GOSPEL OF IMMIGRATION. By Mary Antin with illustrations by Joseph Stella. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914, xi, 143 pp. \$1.00.

The articles on the immigration problem recently contributed by Mary Antin to the *American Magazine* have attracted widespread attention. They are well worth bringing to-

gether in this little volume. The author has known what it means to be an immigrant, poor, oppressed, and ignorant. Her book is a powerful and impressive plea to the American people to keep their gates open to the poor and lowly and aspiring people of other lands. Miss Antin takes the Declaration of Independence seriously and makes it the American confession of faith with its recital of the doctrines of liberty and equality. To her the faithful American is one who understands these doctrines and applies them in his life. She emphasizes the good elements in the immigration from other lands, and the duty of the American people to give equality of opportunity to these peoples who would enter our gates. The test of literacy seems to her unjust. She examines and answers many of the leading arguments against immigration. The strong emphasis of this essay is on the moral duty of America to retain the leadership in maintaining democratic ideals of liberty and equality and in keeping the way open for the elevation of humanity.

ALFRED TENNYSON. Par Louis-Frédéric Choisy. Genève, Librairie Kuendig. 1912.

It is strange that the French, who are not generally regarded as the incarnation of moral seriousness, and whose own literature has so often been fain to cover a multitude of sins with the mantle of artistic finish, should have united to reproach a great foreign writer with the lack which is so commonly imputed to themselves; but it is a fact that the few French critics who have dealt extensively with the work of Tennyson have been inclined to follow the example of Taine and qualify him as a graceful dilettante. The celebrated author of the *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* has no thought of ranking him among thinkers or among poets of genuine emotion; he qualifies *In Memoriam*, the work which Queen Victoria, bereaved of her husband, found more consoling than any book but the Bible, as cold, monotonous and artificial, and dismisses his grief with the very unsympathetic comment: "He mourns, but like an extremely precise and careful gentleman, with brand-new gloves, wipes his tears away with a fine linen hand-

kerchief, and during the religious service which ends the ceremonies, manifests all the compunction of a respectful and well-bred layman."

Incomprehensibly unfair as the current French estimate seems even to those Anglo-Saxons who find it hard to forgive Tennyson his popularity,—for it is very difficult for men of culture to believe that the majority are ever in the right in matters of taste,—we have in the new *Life* by Doctor L. F. Choisy, the most careful study of the poet that has yet appeared from a French pen, an evidence that Frenchmen are beginning to find in the great poet-laureate a deeply religious nature, a passionately kind and loving nature, and a man of profound thoughts and surprising psychological insight. Dr. Choisy has occasionally misunderstood his text, but in spite of the difficulties of a foreign idiom, he has made such an examination of the poet's spiritual and moral personality as will be helpfully suggestive even to the most careful students from Tennyson's own race.

Perhaps the chief reason, aside from the remarkable technical finish of his work, why foreigners and superficial students of Tennyson have failed to note the peculiar depth and genuineness of his feeling, is his very unusual reserve. He suffered, remarks Dr. Choisy very acutely, from the fact that he was an Englishman, a member of that stoical race which is forever disgraced in their own eyes by the appearance of moisture about those organs. The Romantics of the early nineteenth century, even in England, had loved and hated with hysterical frankness, but the Romantics had gone out of style before Tennyson appeared on the scene. And more than all this, the poet himself, although so sensitive that long after his reputation was established beyond a peradventure an adverse criticism would make him miserable for days, was bound by an incurable timidity and an unconquerable reticence. All of us are prone to erect our instinctive impulses into principles, and Tennyson laid it down as a rule that he would never read intimate biography, on the ground that in so doing he was unwarrantedly violating the privacy of other men. His son's *Memoirs* have respected this feeling to the extent of omitting a great deal of such data as most readers of memoirs feel the liveliest interest in.

Dr. Choisy finds the key to Tennyson's inward life in the struggle between two opposite tendencies. Temperamentally he was a pessimist and a skeptic; yet he clung all his days to a positive religious faith and a belief in the ultimate triumph of the right. He was a consistent Christian, a convinced optimist, but he was so from beginning to end by an effort. He stood upright, in spite of something that tugged at him constantly to drag him down. Instead of the superficial and facile artist that Taine, Montégut and the others see in him, he was the Spartan who stood motionless while the fox gnawed at his vitals; he was the apostle who strove to save others when it required the utmost tension of every nerve and muscle to save himself from abject despair.

Dr. Choisy's volume is a monument of painstaking completeness. Not a poem which has psychological importance is left unquestioned. A careful reading of this book will give, probably not so complete a view of the poet's external life as may easily be obtained elsewhere, but a detailed view of his more thoughtful work, from the earliest to the latest. It is a distinct addition to Tennyson literature, and deserves immediate translation into English.

Roy TEMPLE HOUSE.

University of Oklahoma.

LOVE AND LIBERATION. By John Hall Wheelock. Boston: Sherman, French and Company. \$1.50 net.

One of the really noteworthy books of the past year is John Hall Wheelock's "Love and Liberation," the third volume which this gifted and ambitious young poet has published during the two years that he has been before the public. "The Songs of Adsched of Meru," arranged as a poetic sequence in ten parts, make up three-fourths of the volume. Whatever the reader of dainty tastes may think about the propriety or impropriety of Mr. Wheelock's frank treatment of sex in these songs, he must admit that they are characterized by a bold originality of conception and execution, a spontaneity of expression, a pictorial vividness, and a sweetness of phrase and rhythm which make them distinctive poetry in a very real

sense of the word. On the whole, however, the miscellaneous poems in the back of the book will make a much wider appeal—and deservedly so—than "The Songs of Adsched of Meru." Crudeness and vagueness have been Mr. Wheelock's most serious faults in the past, but these faults are not nearly so apparent in "Love and Liberation" as in his earlier collections. Among the finest poems in this new volume are "Return to New York," "Mother," and a sonnet on Tolstoi.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

Purdue University.

IN FREEDOM'S BIRTHPLACE. A Study of the Boston Negroes. By John Daniels. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914.—xiii, 496 pp. \$1.50 net.

No study of the negro could be more interesting than that of his position and prospects in a city which has traditionally been interested in a broad way in his welfare and his rights. Large sums of money have been given by the people of Massachusetts for schools and other measures of improvement among people of color in the South. Mr. Robert A. Wood's introduction states that until recently no specific attention was paid to the serious problem of the steadily increasing negro population of Boston itself. Some few years ago the Robert Gould Shaw House for social work among the negroes was established in the negro quarter of the city. It is interesting to note that there were, in 1910, 13,564 negroes in Boston proper and nearly 10,000 additional negroes in the suburban districts of Greater Boston. Mr. Daniels' book is the result of nine years of work in connection with the social settlement in the colored quarter.

Separate chapters of the book are devoted to such matters as the negro church, the ballot in the hands of the negro, and the economic achievement of the negro people. Mr. Daniels' view of the negro church is hopeful. He thinks that religion is being brought to bear more effectually in the betterment of the conditions of the race and in the solution of its problems. As to the ballot, he concludes that the negroes are improving in intelligence regarding political matters and in standards of

political honesty. He says that the negro's asset value as a citizen has been much enhanced, and also that the race has succeeded in obtaining substantial political recognition of its distinct interests. Likewise a general survey of the economic activities of the colored people of Boston shows that the race is making good strides forward. The negro is still on an industrial plane many degrees below that of the white man: the great mass of the negro people are confined to menial or common labor, but many members of the race are forging ahead. In the sphere of the professions and the business proprietorships there is to be found a substantial and continually growing number of individuals.

In the past the negro has always held an inferior place in the Boston community. He still remains inferior. Mr. Daniels says: "So far as pertains to the past and to the present, the *average* negro—using this unscientific term for lack of a better—has always been, and still is, inferior to the *average* white man. Nor does this inferiority show itself in respects which are only of superficial or of minor importance. It is as deep-seated as possible and extends throughout the whole range of the negro's character and conduct." What the negro lacks is "that somewhat indefinite but nevertheless sufficiently well understood and absolutely fundamental attribute, called stamina." This lack is both physical and moral. It produces the inferiority upon which an "adverse prepossession of mind against the negro" is based. The existence of prejudice becomes a handicap to the efforts of the best individuals to rise. Mr. Daniels takes the view that the negro's inferiority is being reduced, and that in some measure moral stamina is being acquired and prejudice is being undermined. He finds hopeful signs in the increasing recognition of individual negroes of demonstrated ability and character, and also in the greater tendency among negroes toward racial cohesion and race pride.

This valuable local study of the negro is accompanied by numerous appendices and statistical tables.

CHALLENGE. By Louis Untermeyer. New York. The Century Company. 144 pp. \$1.00 net.

Two years ago the writer of this review spoke of Louis Untermeyer as a poet of remarkable promise. His enthusiastic statement has been more than justified. Mr. Untermeyer's work has been before the public scarcely half a dozen years, and he is still in his twenties; yet it is doubtful whether America has at present any poet, young or old, who is doing better work than he.

Spontaneity, freshness, melody, clearness, and vigor of thought have characterized Mr. Untermeyer's verse from the very beginning; but those who read his "First Love" and some of his earlier magazine poems will recall the fact that his lines were occasionally marred by an irritating crudeness.

In his new collection, "Challenge," however, he appears as one of the most finished of technicians. Indeed, one might almost call the new book Tennysonian polished; but, lest this be interpreted as a charge of artificiality or sheer prettiness, be it thoroughly understood that Mr. Untermeyer's improvement in style has not lessened his strength or his naturalness one iota. On the contrary, he has grown amazingly. Two qualities particularly manifest in these poems are exhilaration and a spirit of revolt. However, readers of the *Century*, the *Smart Set*, the *Forum*, and the *Independent*, do not need an introduction to the contents of his book. Others should become acquainted with this promising writer.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

Purdue University.

SOUTHERN LITERARY READINGS. By L. W. Payne, Jr., Chicago: Rand, McNally, and Co., 1913,—xiv, 478 pp.

As a text to be used in the study of Southern literature in high schools, Professor Payne's book is very attractive. The book contains short stories, poems, essays, and letters suitable for young readers and chosen from some of the best Southern writers. In all there are seventy-five selections from thirty-four authors, nine of whom are living. The most noteworthy omissions are William Tappan Thompson, Augustus Baldwin

Longstreet, Ruth McEnery Stuart, George W. Cable, Thomas Nelson Page, and Maurice Thompson; but most of these omissions are due to copyright restrictions. Thirteen of the authors have full-page portrait engravings, and all have well written biographical sketches. The critical apparatus may seem to be over-elaborate, but the editor forestalls criticism by remarking that the book is intended for schools that have no adequate libraries as well as for those with ample facilities for reference, and that the notes may be disregarded by such teachers as may desire.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

The University of Texas.

THE PROFESSOR AND THE PETTICOAT. By Alvin Saunders Johnson. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914.—ix, 402 pp. \$1.30 net.

Professor Johnson of Cornell gives evidence of unusual versatility by venturing from the field of the economist into that of the novelist. His story is that of Edward Gresham, a young scholar from the North, who accepts the chair of philosophy in a rather obscure university in Texas. There he comes into contact with various southern problems, becomes involved in an out-of-the-ordinary love affair, and has many diverting experiences. In the end the fortunate death by a "stroke" of the rich and hostile uncle of his fair lady suddenly clears the way for the happiness of the professor.

Although Professor Gresham met with disaster in his lectures on philosophy to the Texans, there is a good deal of valuable philosophy to be gleaned from various episodes related in the story. The volume is marked throughout by a delicate and whimsical humor. The interest is well enough sustained to make one sit up late to read a few more chapters. The author probably found recreation in writing this book. He must have chuckled over many of the things he put in it. It will certainly prove refreshing summer reading for fellow academics weary of their labors in the class room.

A STUDY OF THE SHORT STORY. By H. S. Canby. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1913.—261 pp.

"So much water has run under the bridges" since Mr. Canby published his *The Short Story* (1902) "that it seemed better to write a new book, rather than to reissue a partial study." Evidently Mr. Canby has been affected by the running water, for he has changed considerably his views as to what a short story is and gives the satisfying definition: "a brief narrative, all of whose constituent parts unite to make a single impression upon the mind of the reader." The text of the book is a history of the short story in English and American literature. Chapters are devoted to the short story of mediæval times, of the Renaissance, of the eighteenth century, of the Romantic Movement, of the mid-century and of the present time in England and in America, separate chapters dealing with Hawthorne, Harte, Henry James, Stevenson, and Kipling.

The second part of the book contains eleven short stories "thoroughly illustrative of the history, the structure, and the excellences of the short story," written by Chaucer, Addison, Samuel Johnson, Scott, Poe, Hawthorne, John Brown, Stevenson, and Kipling. The mere fact that the book contains the tales of the Pardoner and the Prioress, a paper from the *Rambler*, and "The Vision of Mirza" shows what liberal limits Mr. Canby now assigns to the term "short story." A few explanatory notes are given at the bottom of the pages, but for fuller information on the various points the student is referred to the author's *The Short Story in English*.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

The University of Texas.

NOTES AND NEWS

The July number of the *Yale Review* is calculated to make the editors of the other quarterly reviews envious. The leading article by Bliss Perry is on "Literary Criticism in American Periodicals," and the whole table of contents combines instruction with entertainment most successfully. Dudley L. Vaill publishes some "Letters from an Old Hair Trunk," including interesting letters of Civil War times written by North Carolina correspondents. Yale Publishing Association, New Haven, Conn. \$2.50 a year.

The Asheville, N. C. Health Department gives evidence of the energy and intelligence with which it is conducted by publishing a health bulletin. This publication presents the result of the work of the department, and also informs the Asheville public of the progress of other communities in progressive work for the benefit of the public health. An interesting feature of the bulletin is a record of the result obtained by testing the milk of the various dairies supplying the city.

Those who are interested in the city manager plan of municipal government will find valuable information in the publications of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Dayton, Ohio. The methods by which the Dayton charter was prepared and adopted are set forth in a pamphlet by L. D. Upson. The same author also sketches the plan of government for Dayton in a pamphlet reprinted from the *National Municipal Review* for October, 1913.

The Bureau of the Census at Washington has recently published a circular of information regarding the program of the bureau for the period from 1913 to 1916. The bureau also publishes a list of publications, and a pamphlet describing "The Permanent Census Bureau." These circulars will be sent upon request to all applicants.

The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts will occur October 1-3, 1914. The president and faculty of the college are making extensive preparations for the occasion. At the anniversary exercises on October 3rd Governor Craig will preside, and the orators will be Ex-Governors Jarvis, Glenn, and Kitchin, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, and President Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has just published a "North Carolina Manual" for the use of the members of the General Assembly. This manual is a well-printed and substantial volume of over one thousand pages containing information with regard to the officers of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the state, descriptions of the work of the various state departments and institutions, the constitution of North Carolina, biographical sketches of state officers and a great amount of historical information regarding previous legislatures of the state and regarding the representation of the state in the federal government. The manual also contains the election returns for president, governor, and on constitutional questions from 1835-1912. It will be of great value as a convenient source of information which could otherwise be obtained only after extensive research.

No recent chapter in the history of the railroads of the United States has commanded more widespread attention than that dealing with the decline in prosperity and public confidence of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company. For that reason, the public will give unusually careful attention to the views upon railroad problems of Mr. Howard Elliott, who has been chosen to reorganize and rehabilitate the New Haven System. The Houghton Mifflin Company have recently published a volume of Mr. Elliott's addresses on transportation questions under the title: "The Truth About the Railroads." A characteristic of these addresses is advocacy of regard for public opinion on the part of

railroad managers and employees, and appeal to the public for the protection of railroad management from hampering and unnecessary restrictions. \$1.25 net.

Messrs. T. Y. Crowell and Company have recently published in their Library of Economics and Politics a volume on "The Deaf." The work constitutes an unusually important contribution to the literature of the subject. The author takes the attitude of the social economist and regards the deaf as a component part of the population of the state, who demand classification and attention in its machinery of organization. The two divisions of the book are devoted, respectively, to a discussion of the position of the deaf in society and to the provisions made for their education. Mr. Best handles his subject in a scientific way, and his book will be found indispensable by all who are interested in the subject of the deaf and deaf-and-dumb. \$2.00 net.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has recently published a bulletin on the subject of "Education in Vermont." This bulletin is the result of an extensive study of the whole educational system of the state, from the elementary schools through the colleges and universities. It has also published its annual report for 1913 which contains interesting studies of "College Catalogues," of "The Financial Status of College Teachers," and of municipal and other pension systems.

The Russell Sage Foundation has recently published a volume entitled "A Model Housing Law." This presents, with introductory and explanatory chapters, a proposition for a housing law, which might well apply to the construction of tenement houses in the large cities of the country. The law has been drawn up by Lawrence Veiller, an authority on tenement house legislation, and the author of several books on the subject. Survey Associates, Inc., New York City.

The Century Company has recently published an "Advanced American History," by Dr. S. E. Forman. The distinguishing feature of this text book is the large share of attention devoted to economic and social subjects. Commerce, industry, transportation, urban development, great inventions, social and industrial betterment, the movement for popular control over government—all of these topics are treated with liberal space. Such a volume represents a marked advance in the writing of history text books, and will give students a more vital idea of the world about them than was obtained from purely political histories. The work consists of over six hundred pages, with sixty-one maps and many excellent illustrations and reproductions of pictures and documents. Price \$1.50.

Among the recent publications of the Russell Sage Foundation is a monograph on social work in hospitals by Ida M. Cannon. Such work is now supplementing medical treatment in some of the leading hospitals of the country. The hospital social worker is charged with investigating the social environment of the patient, and with bringing to the attention of the physician data which may help in diagnosis and in choosing the best method of treatment. Unfavorable conditions may often be bettered or entirely remedied. The book is published in New York by the Survey Associates, Inc. at \$1.50 postpaid.

The American Book Company has recently published "A New Mediæval and Modern History," by Professor S. B. Harding of Indiana University. The work is based on the author's "Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History," but the matter has been so largely reorganized and supplemented that the result is practically a new work. The narrative has been brought fully up to date, including such recent events as the British Parliament Act of 1911, the Italian-Turkish War, and the Balkan War. There are sixty maps and 198 illustrations. Price, \$1.50.

Miss Mary Van Kleeck has made for the Russell Sage Foundation a study of "Women in the Book-binding Trade." The author visited more than 200 binderies in New York and made a personal study of the work, wages and homes of 200 bindery women. She presents a program of changes which are needed to establish proper standards. The volume is published by the Survey Associates, Inc. at \$1.50 postpaid.

The Houghton Mifflin Company contribute to the supply of summer fiction an anonymous novel entitled "Overland Red." This is a story which will not win for its author high honors in literature, but, nevertheless, it has its entertaining features as a "red-blooded" western tale with a hero who is tramp, poet, cowboy, and philosopher. The "Rose Girl" is all that a heroine on a western ranch should be, and "Silent Saunders," the villain, is constantly "on the job." Here we have wonderful riding, deadly marksmanship, the shooting-up of a "bunch" of desperadoes, the discovery of a lost gold mine, gallant love-making, and plenty of philosophy and poetry thrown in. All this for \$1.35 net. The following illustrates the quality of Overland Red's tramp poetry:

Oh, my stummick is jest akein'
For a little bit of bacon,
A slice of bread, a little mug of brew.
I'm tired of seein' scenery,
Jest lead me to a beanery,
Where there's something more than only air to chew.

Professor William Stearns Davis of the University of Minnesota is the author of a "History of Mediæval and Modern Europe" just published by the Houghton Mifflin Company (\$1.50). Mr. Norman Shaw McKendrick of the Phillips Exeter Academy has collaborated with the author, revising the entire manuscript and providing questions, analyses, maps and other helps for teachers. The work includes such recent happenings as the war between Italy and Turkey and the Balkan War. It is illustrated profusely and with good judgment. The volume will doubtless prove a serviceable text book in secondary schools.

The Stewart and Kidd Company of Cincinnati have published a volume entitled "Animals in Social Captivity" by Richard Clough Anderson. The striking illustrations are by Lilian Noble Herschede. Mr. Anderson's book is a satire on different types of people in social life. He finds in the people he meets resemblances to animals which lead him to classify them as cats, bats, vampires, monkeys, and enough others to make quite a social menagerie.

The University of Chicago



Mitchell Tower

Offers instruction during the Summer Quarter on the same basis as during the other quarters of the academic year.

The undergraduate colleges, the graduate schools, and the professional schools provide courses in *Arts, Literature, Science, Commerce and Administration, Law, Medicine, Education, and Divinity*. Instruction is given by regular members of the University staff which is augmented in the summer by appointment of professors and instructors from other institutions.

Summer Quarter, 1914

1st Term June 15-July 22

2d Term July 23-Aug. 28

Detailed announcements will be sent upon application.

The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois



THIS tobacco is a friend just before the exams. You want concentration and you want it bad —smoke Velvet and you'll get it!

Velvet tobacco—the finest leaf—aged over 2 years—time matures the leaf as nothing else can. Time develops a mellowness and flavor that are rare indeed. There is no bite in Velvet! Fill your pipe with this tobacco—then you will appreciate why we named it "Velvet." At all dealers.

Full
2 Ounce Tins 10c

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.



Will you kindly acknowledge that some time during your career you have dreamed of the possibility of making a "touchdown"

A touchdown is a synonym of exceptional achievement—sure it is!

We had a touchdown in mind when we evolved Fatima Cigarettes—purest and choicest of tobacco—just the sort of a smoke men should like—then to the gridiron test—you fellows snapped them up with a rah! And today more Fatimas are sold than any other cigarette in the country! That's what we call putting one over—the quality was there, and that's all there is to this success business! Package plain. Quality *all* in the tobacco!

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.



20
for 15¢ **FATIMA**
TURKISH BLEND
CIGARETTES

